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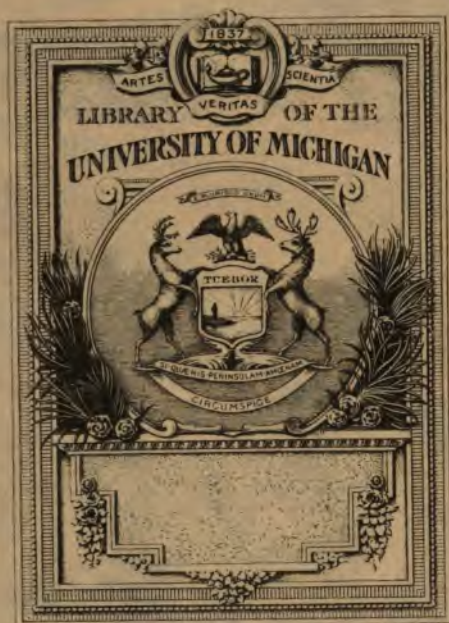
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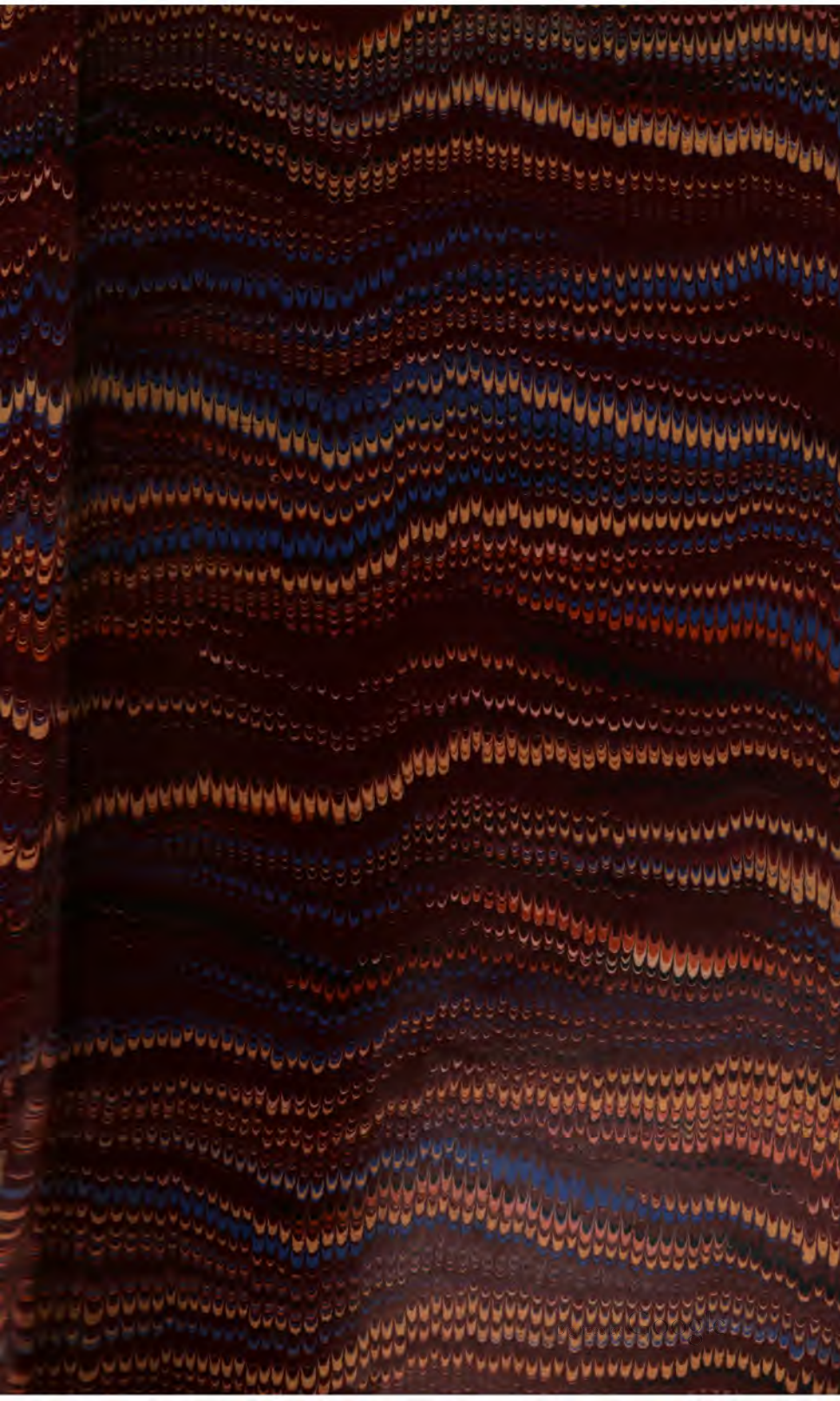
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PRIVATE CORRESPONDENCE
OF THE
DUCHESS OF MARLBOROUGH.
VOL. I.





QUEEN ANNE .

London, Henry Colburn, 13, G^o Marlborough Street.
Day & Knight took "A to the Queen."

PRIVATE CORRESPONDENCE
OF
SARAH,
Sarah (Jennings) Churchill
DUCHESS OF MARLBOROUGH,

ILLUSTRATIVE OF
THE COURT AND TIMES OF
QUEEN ANNE;
WITH
HER SKETCHES AND OPINIONS
OF
HER CONTEMPORARIES,
AND THE
SELECT CORRESPONDENCE OF HER HUSBAND,
JOHN, DUKE OF MARLBOROUGH.

IN TWO VOLUMES.
VOL. I.

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P R E F A C E.

IT is scarcely necessary to tell our readers, as an excuse for the present publication, that the reign of Queen Anne is one of the most interesting and famous in the whole course of our annals, or that there are no documents so capable of illustrating that reign, whether we would know the measures which raised the nation to its glory, or the private intrigues which robbed it of the advantages which that glory promised, and drew upon it for a time we may almost say the contempt of all Europe, as the private correspondence of the DUCHESS OF MARLBOROUGH, herself one of the most prominent actors on the scene. One portion of this correspondence, the letters of her husband, the conqueror of the armies of Louis XIV., gives us a tolerably connected account of the progress and events of that celebrated war, from the year 1706 to the period

VOL. I.

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when his further efforts were paralysed by the ambition of Harley and St. John. The letters of Arthur Maynwaring, Esq., M.P., the confidential secretary and friend of the Duchess, throws great light upon the secret progress of the intrigues of Harley's party from 1708 to 1712, the year of Maynwaring's death. In the present state of party feeling, many will read with interest the judicious and sensible, though rather long, letters of Dr. Hare on the position and conduct of the parties somewhat more than a hundred years ago. The letters of others of the Duchess's contemporaries, as the famous Earl of Peterborough, her son-in-law Sunderland, the Treasurer Lord Godolphin, the Duke of Shrewsbury, Lords Halifax and Coningsby, Sir Robert Walpole, Ladies Cowper, Scarborough, and Mohun, with a few specimens of the correspondence between the Duchess and the Queen, will illustrate equally the times when they were written and the characters of the persons who wrote them.

Unfortunately there are preserved but few of the Duchess's own letters, written during the reign of

Queen Anne ; but some of her papers, written at a subsequent period, have furnished us with sketches of the CHARACTERS OF HER CONTEMPORARIES, which, though often partial and violent, cannot fail to be read with interest, as written by one who knew so intimately all the petty intrigues of the day,

The OPINIONS OF THE DUCHESS OF MARLBOROUGH are given from a very rare little volume, privately printed in the last century, by Sir David Dalrymple, Lord Hailes. A note in the copy which the Editor possesses, tells us that they were extracted from the letters of the Duchess, in her old age, to Lord Stair, from 1737 to 1741, which had accidentally fallen into the hands of Lord Hailes. What was afterwards the fate of the original letters we do not know. Lord Hailes says that there were “insuperable objections” to their ever being published. Besides the general value and curiosity of these opinions, they afford us several reminiscences of the times of Queen Anne.

The greater part of the contents of the two following volumes have been furnished by the Manu-

a 2

script Collections of Archdeacon Coxe, the author of the Life of the Duke of Marlborough, and of several works illustrative of the history of the last century. We have thought it right to give, in some instances, the notes which Coxe had written in the margin.

The Correspondence of the Duchess of Marlborough forms a regular, and by no means brief, commentary on the history and feelings of the reign of Queen Anne. But many important transactions, which are there only slightly alluded to, will be found more fully illustrated in the select Correspondence of the Duke of Marlborough, chiefly with Lord Godolphin, from 1706 to 1710, which forms a part of our second volume. Among the Duke's Correspondents we meet with a few persons celebrated in another class, such as William Penn the Quaker, Daniel De Foe, the author of Robinson Crusoe, and the Poet Matthew Prior.

It has not been thought necessary to break into the series of the Duchess's Correspondence, because here and there a single letter has been printed in

a mutilated form by Coxe. A letter generally loses much of its interest and value by being cut into extracts. But, as the Letters of the Duke, just alluded to, are in themselves only a selection, the Editor has omitted those of which the whole or the greater part had been already printed in his Life.

It remains only to observe that a few letters of the Duchess from private collections, written at a later period, and which therefore could not have found a place elsewhere, have been thought worthy of being printed in the form of an Appendix.

From the sixteenth to the middle of the eighteenth century, public men used cyphers in their correspondence, for it was not till a comparatively late period that the post was a safe conveyance. About the time of which we are now writing, numbers were generally used for this purpose, to which sometimes were given the signification of letters, and at others of words. In the Correspondence of the Duchess of Marlborough and Lord Godolphin with the Duke of Marlborough, the only cypher used is

a series of numerals which stand for the names of people and countries, and some party names, &c. which, to those unacquainted with their signification, were a sufficient disguise to the meaning. As the key to this cypher, which is preserved among the other papers, is incomplete, and thus the meaning of a few numbers is unknown, and several doubtful, it has been judged best to print in every instance the cypher itself, and to give the interpretation between parentheses.

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INTRODUCTION.

QUEEN Anne ascended the throne on the 8th of March, 1702, at a period of great political difficulty, and with the immediate prospect of a war with the King of France. The principles of the Revolution had become the law of the land, the permanence of which was now sufficiently apparent; yet still the partizans of the exiled family had not entirely laid aside their hopes, which were now chiefly nourished by the inveterate hatred and opposition of the two parties in England, some of whose leaders scrupled not to use the small remnant who really supported the interest of the Pretender, or any other means, which might embarrass or annoy their opponents. Lord Mahon is certainly not correct, in his comparison of the parties in Queen Anne's reign with those of the present day; that the Tories of our time advocate the measures which were those of the Whigs at the beginning of the last century is perfectly true, and we should have reason to be

surprised were it otherwise, for those measures have now long been the established principles of the constitution, whereas in Queen Anne's reign they had but lately been put in force, and that after a violent change of the reigning family. That the Whigs of the present day advocate some of the measures of the old Tories is also true ; but under entirely different circumstances, and with totally different objects. The Jacobites cried out for Catholic Emancipation, with the design of bringing in a Catholic government ; the Whigs of our times have carried through that measure because they thought that the Catholics were no longer to be feared, and that their civil disabilities were now become an unnecessary oppression.

The Tories then occupied the same position to a certain degree which the Tories do now ; they opposed any change in that government which they considered as the only lawful one ; but they possessed certain prejudices in favour of the extreme doctrines of absolute power and legitimacy, and a divided interest between a family that was out and a family that was in, which have long disappeared from this country. The principles of our Conservatives, as far as difference of circumstances will permit the comparison, were represented by those of Godolphin and Marlborough, and the moderate party who were with them. The Whig party then, as now, was the

movement party ; and there wanted not a party, like our Radicals, whose measures tended to disorder and anarchy. Such was the position of parties ; but now, when personal feelings have been so much softened down, it is almost impossible to conceive the bitter hatred which they bare to each other, and the atrocious libels against their leaders which the press every day sent into the world. This latter circumstance renders it extremely difficult to estimate the private characters of the distinguished personages who flourished at the beginning of the last century.

Dr. Hare, in his letters to the Duchess of Marlborough, makes a just distinction between the principles and aims of the parties, and those of their leaders, and argues reasonably enough, that whatever a few unprincipled men might be willing to do for the gratification of their own ambition and avarice, it was not possible that any considerable body of people would fall into any measures, knowingly, which might be directed against the Revolution that had been brought about so unanimously. The reigns of the two last Kings of the Stuart family had not been very favourable to the production of honest statesmen ; and the history of William's reign shows us that, with a very few exceptions, the leading men of all parties aimed chiefly at getting into high places. At the latter end of

his reign the Tories had come into office ; and the disappointment of the Whigs at losing the power to which they thought the Revolution had given them a peculiar right, joined with the vindictive proceedings of the other party, rendered the mutual hatred of the different parties at the time of Queen Anne's accession more bitter than ever. In one circumstance, the position of parties then was exactly the reverse of what it is at present. The House of Lords was decidedly Whig ; whilst, as at that time corruption and agitation were much more active and efficient than at any subsequent period, a Tory administration could generally get a House of Commons as decidedly Tory, and were only embarrassed by the certain opposition of the Lords. Such a case had occurred a very short time before Anne came to the Crown, and she found a Tory administration in power, and a House of Commons which had for its leader the celebrated Robert Harley.

Queen Anne's prejudices were entirely on the side of the Tories. . But the Duchess, then Countess, of Marlborough, whom a long and faithful attachment to her while princess had raised to an unusual degree of favour, by which she ruled more almost than the Queen herself during the first part of her reign, had long been, according to her own avowal, a determined Whig, and boasts of her exertions from the first to bring that party into power. The

Earl of Marlborough, and Lord Godolphin, who had been at the head of the Treasury in the preceding reign, were inclined to the Tories, but as Politicians, they were both extremely moderate and upright men. The Queen retained the Tory Ministry which had been in office at the death of King William, and who were nearly all men of such known party violence, that at first Godolphin declined the office of Treasurer along with them. But his character for integrity was so great, and his influence in the city so extensive, that Marlborough, who had been made Captain-General of the army in the approaching war, refused to take up the command, unless Godolphin accepted the Treasurership at the same time. The ill feelings of the parties were now so great, that when the Queen proposed to create four Tory peers, and Mr. Hervey, a Whig, was joined with them, the former are said to have refused the titles, if a Whig were at the same time to be raised to the peerage.

During the first year of the Queen's reign, affairs went on apparently in perfect harmony ; war had been proclaimed against France on the fourth of May, and after a successful campaign, Marlborough was created a Duke in the month of November. Evelyn, whose predilections were Tory, observes on the eighth of this latter month,* " Our affairs in so

* Diary, vol. iii. p. 396.

prosperous a condition both by sea and land, that there has not ben so great an union in Parliament, Court, and people, in memory of man, which God in mercy make us thankfull for and continue. The Bishop of Exeter preach'd before the Queene and both Houses of Parliament at St. Paul's ; they were wonderfully huzza'd in their passage, and splendidly entertained in the city." The Tory ministry stood its ground during the first three years of the reign without losing any of its members, till in the summer of 1704 the power of Marlborough and Godolphin was established by the famous victories of the Schellenberg and of Blenheim.

The Earl of Peterborough, on congratulating the Duchess upon the first of these battles, dwells particularly upon its influence on the party dissensions at home. "The Queen," he observes, "has now, and I hope ever will have, what is so necessary in England, *success*. The victory at home is of equal importance with that abroad. The Elector of Bavaria reduced is not of greater advantage to the common cause than what the Queen has now at her feet, all faction here. Malice and all cabals are defeated ; even Parliaments (I will not say subdued) but overcome by her Majesty's virtue and the good fortune of her general." The way, indeed, was prepared for the fall of the Tories by their own misapplied zeal and factious behaviour. The Tory

House of Commons let slip no opportunity of manifesting its enmity to the Whigs ; and, like its predecessor, was in a constant state of collision with the Peers, and the public supplies were repeatedly in danger of being stopped by their dissensions. The Treasurer and the General in disgust, began to second in some measure the efforts of the Duchess in favour of the Whigs, with the hope of obtaining a more moderate ministry. The Earl of Rochester, one of the most violent of the Tory Ministers, quitted his offices in a fit of ill-humour, caused by jealousy of the influence of the Duke of Marlborough, and was not long afterwards followed by some of his companions, who repined at the countenance which they saw now began to be shown to the other party. The Tory House of Commons, becoming every day more factious in its attempts to pass violent measures, was dissolved in the year 1705, and, by the great exertions of the Whig party throughout the country, were succeeded by a house which was entirely Whig. But every advantage which was gained by this party in the Cabinet was the result of a long series of obstinate struggles between the Duchess and the Queen. In the course of the year 1705, these struggles produced the dismissal of Sir Nathan Wright from the custody of the Great Seal, who was succeeded by Lord Cowper, an able and honest statesman, and one of the props of the Whig party.

The Duchess, in her "Conduct," gives an extract from one of the Queen's letters during the last session of her Tory Parliament, in which, disgusted with the factious behaviour she had seen there, she acknowledges herself "sensible of the services which the Whigs had done her," and declares her resolution "to countenance them," adding, "I am thoroughly convinced of the malice and insolence of *those* that you (the Duchess) *have always been speaking against.*"*

Evelyn has entered into his Diary on the 20th of May, 1705, the following observations relating to the elections of members for the new Parliament. "Most extravagant expence to debauch and corrupt votes for Parliament members. I sent my grandson with his party of my freeholders, to vote for Mr. Harvey of Combe." Mr. Harvey was a violent Tory. In October, only a few months before his own death, Evelyn observes—"Mr. Cowper made Lord Keeper..... A new Secretary of State—Lord Abington, Lieutenant of the Tower, displaced, and General Churchill, brother to the Duke of Marlborough, put in. An indication of great unsteadiness somewhere, but thus the crafty Whig party (as call'd) begin to change the face of the Court, in opposition to the High Churchmen, which was another distinction of a party from the Low

* The Conduct, p. 159.

Churchmen. The Parliament chose one Mr. Smith speaker. There had never been so great an assembly of members on the first day of sitting, being more than 450. The votes both of the old, as well as the new, fell to those called Low Churchmen contrary to all expectation.”*

Such was the position of England at the time when our letters began to be numerous. A ministry in power chiefly composed of zealous Tories, with the Whigs all-powerful in both Houses of Parliament, while Marlborough and Godolphin were desirous of conciliating the two parties, were more or less suspected by both, and had no great confidence in either. The Whigs, however, had as much party zeal as their opponents, and, feeling their own strength, they were not content with being countenanced, but were determined to have the power in their own hands.

The campaign of 1706 was the most glorious of any during the course of the war. In the latter end of April the Duke of Marlborough went to

* Evelyn's Diary, vol. iii. pp. 407, 408. On the ninth of February preceding, Evelyn gives the following account of an interview with the Duke. "I went to wait on my Lord Treasurer, where was the victorious Duke of Marlborough, who came to me and took me by the hand with extraordinary familiarity and civility, as formerly he was us'd to do, without any alteration of his good nature. He had a most rich George in a sardonyx, set with diamonds of very great value; for the rest, very plain. I had not seen him for some years, and believ'd he might have forgotten me."

Holland, with the intention of leading his army into Italy, and joining Eugene and the Duke of Savoy in attacking the French on that side ; but the jealousies and fears of the allies rendered this project abortive, and in the month following, he assembled the army between Borchloen and Tongves, with the intention of marching upon Namur. The French and Bavarians under Villeroy and the Elector, made a hasty movement to save Namur, and to surprise the allies before the conjunction of their forces, and Marlborough, attacking them in their march, gained, on Whitsunday, the twenty-third of May, the great and decisive battle of Ramilies, which delivered to the allies the whole of Brabant ; Louvaine, Mechlin, Brussels, Antwerp, Ghent, Bruges, Ostend, Menin, Dendermond, and Ath, fell successively into their hands. The success of the war in Italy, and the opening of the campaign in Spain were equally glorious, but in the latter country the misunderstandings and misconduct of the generals threw all the advantages which had been gained into the hands of the enemy, and the season ended there in defeat and disgrace.

At home this year saw the rise of the Whig party, and at the same time the seeds of those private dissensions sown, which afterwards ended in their downfall. To us now, it seems ridiculous, that either the Queen, who in her vexation at the inju-

ditions proceedings of the Tories had promised support to the Whigs, or her treasurer and general, could have imagined that their support might be bought with any thing less than at least a share in the ministry, particularly now that they had the majority in both Houses of Parliament. Yet the Queen refused obstinately to promote any of their leaders, always pretending her hostility to be, not against the party, but against the persons who were proposed to her, and the Duke of Marlborough himself seems to have indulged in the rather unreasonable notion, that they would support the government with the simple object of sustaining and raising the glory of their country, without any views of self-interest. Lord Godolphin was more inclined to advocate their cause, and the zeal of the Duchess led her into such obstinate and acrimonious contentions with her mistress, as now laid the foundations of the final breach in their friendship. The Duke was by degrees gained over, the more readily, because the more violent Tories had already begun to mark him out as the object of their open attacks.

The first person whom the Whigs marked out for promotion was the Earl of Sunderland. They hoped to obtain their object with the more ease, as Sunderland was the Duke of Marlborough's son-in-law, and they demanded that Sir Charles Hedges

should be deprived of his office of secretary of state to make a place for him. The Queen was resolute in her determination to stand by her present secretary, and it was not till the struggle had been carried on during the whole year, and after the Duchess had quarrelled with the Queen and with her husband too, the Treasurer had given in his resignation, and the Whigs had come to a final resolution of deserting the government, that they were satisfied in their demand. Marlborough reached London, on his return from the Continent, on the 18th of November, and his personal intercession obtained the promotion of Sunderland, who was gazetted Secretary of State on the third of November.

Whilst the Duchess of Marlborough was losing her place in the Queen's affections, another lady was making rapid progress towards entirely supplanting her. This was the afterwards celebrated Mrs. Masham, who was herself related to the Duchess, and of whom the latter, in her conduct, gives the following account:—

“Mrs. Masham was the daughter of one Hill, a merchant in the City, by a sister of my father. Our grandfather, Sir John Jenyns, had two-and-twenty children, by which means the estate of the family (which was reputed to be about 4000*l.* a year) came to be divided into small parcels. Mrs. Hill

had only 500*l.* to her portion. Her husband lived very well, as I have been told, for many years, till turning projector, he brought ruin upon himself and his family. But as this was long before I was born, I never knew there were such people in the world till after the Princess Anne was married, and when she lived at the Cockpit; at which time an acquaintance of mine came to me and said, she believed I did not know that I had relations who were in want, and she gave me an account of them. When she had finished her story, I answered, that indeed I had never heard before of any such relations, and immediately gave her out of my purse ten guineas for their present relief, saying, I would do what I could for them. Afterwards I sent Mrs. Hill more money, and saw her. She told me that her husband was in the same degree of relation to Mr. Harley as she was to me, but that he had never done anything for her."

"I think," continues the Duchess, "Mrs. Masham's father and mother did not live long after this. They left four children, two sons and two daughters. The elder daughter (afterwards Mrs. Masham) was a grown woman. I took her to St. Alban's, where she lived with me and my children, and I treated her with as great kindness as if she had been my sister. After some time a bedchamber woman of the Princess of Denmark's died; and as in that reign (after the princesses were grown up)

rockers, though not gentlewomen, had been advanced to bedchamber women, I thought I might ask the Princess to give the vacant place to Mrs. Hill. At first indeed I had some scruple about it, but this being removed by persons I thought wiser, with whom I consulted, I made the request to the Princess, and it was granted." *

In 1705, Lord Nottingham, one of the Secretaries of State, jealous of the progress of the Whigs, had resigned his office, and been succeeded by the famous Robert Harley, who, as appears by the foregoing account, was also related to Mrs. Masham. In the following year, when the Whigs became convinced that their suspicions of the unwillingness of Marlborough and Godolphin to oblige them were unfounded, their suspicions fell upon Harley, whom they were determined to displace; but he was screened by the Treasurer and the General, who, blinded by his great and constant professions of devotion and gratitude to their persons and cause, were not easily brought to believe in his underhand intrigues. During the course of the year 1707, Harley held his office in spite of the attacks of the Whigs; but his secret practices becoming every day more apparent, the two ministers were themselves siezed with alarm, and resolved on obtaining his dismissal. There could now be little doubt that, in

* The Conduct, p. 177.

association with Mrs. Masham, he had gained a great ascendancy over the Queen; and that he had already projected the formation of a Tory administration, in company with St. John and Sir Simon Harcourt, to the utter exclusion of the Whigs. Godolphin and Marlborough gave encouragement and strength to these intrigues, by their independent behaviour, and their reluctance to give themselves entirely to either party.

At the end of the year 1707, after Marlborough's return from a successful campaign, he joined with Godolphin in representing strongly to the Queen the hurt which her affairs suffered by the cabals of her Secretary, and the necessity of his dismissal. Their expostulations only served to show more plainly the influence of Harley, and she refused to dismiss him from her service. The Duke and Godolphin then offered their resignations, and refused to attend the council. The Queen, however, seemed resolved to proceed, and she attended the council, with Harley, who proceeded to open the business of the meeting as though nothing had happened. The members of the council at first appeared as if absorbed in reflection; half smothered murmurs were then heard, and the Secretary paused. A momentary silence ensuing, the members turned to each other with looks of surprise and uneasiness, till the Duke of Somerset arose, and with warmth

exclaimed, "I do not see how we can deliberate, when the Commander-in-Chief and the Lord Treasurer are absent." On this unexpected observation, which plainly expressed the sense of the meeting, Harley was still more disconcerted, and the Queen remained silent. The observation being repeated, the Queen broke up the unfinished deliberation, and withdrew with evident emotions of anger, alarm, and disappointment. The result could not long be concealed, and the agitation of the public mind became extreme. Expressions of concern and dissatisfaction were heard in both Houses of Parliament; and the Commons in particular suffered a Bill of supply to lie on their table, though ordered for that day.* The Queen remained still unchanged in her resolution, but Harley saw the inequality of the conflict, and both himself and his party, St. John, Harcourt, and Mansel, resigned their offices. Robert Walpole, so famous in after history, succeeded to the office of Secretary at War.

This was the greatest success which the Whigs had yet gained, the government was now entirely in their hands, and their cause was more heartily espoused by Marlborough as well as Godolphin. But the favour of the Queen was entirely lost, and from this time she seems to have looked forward in anxious and bitter mortification to the moment when

* Coxe's *Life of Marlborough*, vol. ii. p. 387.

she might disengage herself from their hands. The concealed marriage of Mrs. Masham during the preceding year had ended in an open quarrel between her and the Duchess, who felt that her influence was now transferred entirely to her rival. Harley, become now an open enemy to the ministers, no longer disguised his intrigues with the same caution.

The campaign of 1708 was rendered famous by the glorious victory of Oudenarde, which was so decisive as to give every prospect of a speedy and satisfactory peace. At home were presented a succession of petty intrigues and cabals, which hastened the defeat of the Whigs by dividing and weakening them. The Earl of Sunderland drew on himself the marked displeasure of the Queen by his interference in the elections of Scottish peers; General Churchill, on the other hand, although the Duke's brother, was suspected of intriguing against him and the Whigs; and the Duke of Somerset, elated by the part he had acted in the defeat of Harley, was busy creating a schism in order to raise a party of his own. The chief efforts of the Whigs aimed at the introduction of Somers to the ministry, and to the making Sir James Montague, brother of the Earl of Halifax, Attorney-General in place of Sir Simon Harcourt, who had gone out of office with Harley. Their great organ was the Duchess of Marlborough, who now mixed her expostulations to the Queen in favour of the Whigs with private

recriminations for her favour to Mrs. Masham, and ended by a violent altercation in September, which was followed by a temporary cessation of intercourse. The Whigs at the same time renewed their applications that the Duke and the Treasurer would openly put themselves at their head, whereby the party would be united, and the attempts of their common enemies rendered fruitless, "in which," as Maynwaring observes in a letter in July, "they may be safe and easy, and which certainly would assist them to remove Abigail and all the rest that make their administration so difficult and unpleasant," and the Secretary of the Duchess goes on to stigmatize their conduct as "a little narrow principle of being independent of a party, which in this case is really being a slave without friends." The two ministers experienced in the sequel the truth of Maynwaring's observation. Towards the end of the year the Whigs were again gratified by concessions; the office of Attorney-General was given to Sir James Montague, and, after the death of Prince George of Denmark at the end of October, Lord Somers was made President of the Council, Lord Wharton was sent over as Viceroy to Ireland, and Lord Pembroke was made Lord High Admiral. About the same time a temporary reconciliation took place between the Queen and the Duchess.

At the beginning of the year 1709, the King of France made demonstrations of a serious wish for

peace, which was now ardently desired both in England and Holland. Negotiations were entered into at the Hague, and preliminaries arranged, but after much delay and disagreement, it was found that the French were acting with insincerity, and that their chief object was to gain time and to sow divisions amongst the allies. Hostilities were recommenced, and on the 11th of September was fought the great and sanguinary battle of Malplaquet, which must in all probability have put an end to the war, had not Louis XIV. conceived new hopes from the critical state of the British cabinet, which encouraged him to renew his efforts until the discussions in England might have time to turn to his own advantage. The war itself, in spite of its success, was becoming every day less popular in England, as its burden continually increased, and the great, and, under the circumstances, decisive battle of Malplaquet created much less enthusiasm than previous battles had done. The Whigs, who were the great supporters of the war, lost their popularity along with it. The country teemed with Tory pamphlets and papers, full of the most virulent abuse of the government and the Whig leaders, particularly Marlborough and Godolphin, which were readily received and listened to by the bulk of the people, who now willingly hearkened to sermons and discourses which impugned openly the very principles of the revolution.

Amid all these signs of diminishing popularity,

the Whigs persisted in their aims at aggrandisement. The whole summer was again expended in a struggle with the Queen, the object of which was the promotion of the Earl of Orford to the head of the Admiralty, and they did not obtain it till the beginning of November. Its immediate consequence was another violent quarrel between the Duchess and the Queen, and a further alienation of the latter from her ministers. Harley, encouraged by the increasing dissatisfaction throughout the country, and supported by the entire confidence of the Queen, pursued with vigour his secret intrigues, and succeeded in gaining over from the Whigs the Earl of Rivers and the Duke of Somerset.

At this critical period happened the trial of Dr. Sacheverel, whose injudicious impeachment raised the fermentation of the country to such a point, that Harley and his friends saw the moment arrived when they might successfully strike the blow which they had been so long meditating. Unfortunately, at the approach of danger, the Whig party lost that firmness and unanimity which they had hitherto so constantly shown, and gave up quietly one post after another with the foolish hope that each would be the last, instead of boldly facing their opponents at their first attack. At the beginning of the year, the Queen showed her resolution of humbling and mortifying the Duke of Marlborough, as the most powerful obstacle to the designs of her new secret

counsellors, by the promotion of Lord Rivers to the lieutenantcy of the Tower, and the attempt to extort from the General the promotion of Colonel Hill, soon after which he was hurried off to the Continent, in order to give greater liberty to Harley's practices, on the progress of which much light is thrown by the Correspondence of the Duchess during the year 1710. On the sixth of April the Duchess had her celebrated interview with the Queen, which ended their personal intercourse.* Only a few days afterwards, Harley began to put his great design in practice. The conduct of the Duke of Shrewsbury at the trial of Sacheverel, showed that, in spite of his outward professions to the Duke, he had been long secretly in accord with his enemies. On the 13th of April, without consultation with her Lord Treasurer, who was at Newmarket, the Queen dismissed the Marquis of Kent from his office of Lord Chamberlain, and transferred the staff to the Duke of Shrewsbury, and she wrote to Godolphin that her object was "to allay the heat and ferment that is in this poor nation." Godolphin, instead of quitting immediately his post, used his endeavours to persuade Marlborough and the Whig leaders to submit to the affront rather than endanger the public service by their resignation, and to believe the assertions of the Queen that no further changes

* See the Duchess's account of this interview in the present volume, p. 295.

were intended, and of Shrewsbury that he was going to act in concert with them. The Tories were perhaps much as astonished, as they were delighted, by the conduct of their adversaries, and foresaw no further difficulties in their way. In the course of the next month, the Duke was induced to consent to the promotions of Masham and Hill. On the 13th of June Marlborough's son-in-law, Sunderland, was dismissed from the office of Secretary of State, and the General was again persuaded by his own party to continue at his post. The Whigs acquiesced in the timid and feeble counsels of the Treasurer, who, on the 7th of August was himself ignominiously deprived of his office. The dismissal of Godolphin was followed by the resignation of his colleagues, except the Duke of Marlborough, whose resolution to retire was successfully combatted by their patriotic but impolitic representations. A Tory ministry was immediately formed; Harley was made Chancellor of the Exchequer, and St. John was appointed Secretary of State. The Parliament was dissolved, and the nation, in the heat of the ferment which had followed Sacheverel's trial, returned a new one, which was entirely devoted to the new administration.

After new negotiations for peace, which, as before, only ended in showing the duplicity of the French, the campaign in Flanders had been eminently successful, and the King of France was reduced to the greatest extremities. On the return of the Duke

of Marlborough to England, instead of being rewarded with triumphs, every species of mortification was prepared for him. He was denied the usual thanks of the Parliament, his Duchess was deprived of all her offices, and he was given privately to understand that his good behaviour towards the party in power could alone screen him from still more galling vexations. But he was again persuaded by his friends to retain his post. The party with whom he was now serving, however, knew well that he was not reconciled to them; and whilst they were lavish of professions of friendship, they were employing and encouraging secret agents to vilify him and blacken his character before the world, that when his time came, he might be crushed with less difficulty.

After the fall of the Whig Government, during the remainder of the reign of Queen Anne, very little of the Correspondence of the Duchess of Marlborough is found. After the campaign of 1711, the last in which the Duke of Marlborough ever commanded, he returned to England to join in the opposition to the ministry. Harley created Earl of Oxford, and made Lord Treasurer, who had previously tried to bring him over to the Tories, now used every exertion to effect his disgrace. The power of the Whigs, in the House of Lords, now that they were encouraged by the presence of the Duke, embarrassed and alarmed the ministry, and, as a last resource, they brought against him a charge of peculation, and dismissed him from his office of

Commander-in-chief. At the same time they secured a majority in the Upper House by the creation of twelve new peers. In 1712, Lord Godolphin died ; and the Duke of Marlborough, unable longer to support the malice of his enemies, withdrew to the Continent, where he was received with the greatest marks of distinction, and was followed by the Duchess. They there watched the progress of events in England, manifested their hearty fidelity to the House of Hanover, and returned to England on the accession of King George.

Meanwhile the ministers, after the most disgraceful intrigues, had deserted their allies, and made a clandestine and treacherous peace with France, which has since been famous as the peace of Utrecht. But divisions now arose among the Tories themselves, Harley (now Oxford) offended the all-powerful favourite Mrs. Masham, and was soon afterwards sacrificed to his ambitious associate, now his rival, St. John, who had been created Lord Bolinbroke, whose intrigues in favour of the Pretender were defeated by the death of the Queen, and by the efforts of the Whigs. At the end of July, 1714, the Elector of Hanover became King of England.

Under the new reign, Marlborough was restored to his offices of Captain-general and Master of the Ordnance, which he held till his death, on the 16th of June, 1722, in the 72nd year of his age. His Duchess lived to the great age of 84, dying in 1744.

CORRESPONDENCE

OF THE

DUCHESS OF MARLBOROUGH.

QUEEN ANNE TO THE DUCHESS OF MARLBOROUGH.

1703.*

IT is now so late that I can only thank you for your letter, and congratulate the Duke of Marlborough being well after the siege of Bon, which is more pleasing news to me than all the conquests he can make.

May God Almighty, that has preserved him hitherto through many dangers, continue to do so, and send him safe home to his and my dear adored Mrs. Freeman! †

* Bon capitulated on the morning of the fifteenth of May (new st.), 1703; this letter must have been written between that date and the beginning of June, for in the London Gazette, No. 3920, intelligence from the camp, dated June 11, says, "His Grace had been indisposed, but having kept his chamber three or four days, he found himself perfectly recovered, and went abroad that day to view the left of the army." The Duke arrived in London Nov. 10.

† In the private correspondence between the Duchess of Marlborough and the Queen, the latter was always spoken of by the feigned name of Mrs. Morley, and the Duke and Duchess by those of Mr. and Mrs. Freeman. See further on, the Duchess's own observations on this matter, in a letter to Bishop Burnet.

VOL. I.

B

THE DUKE OF MARLBOROUGH TO THE DUCHESS OF
MARLBOROUGH.

Hague, April 20, 1703.

I received this morning two of your dear letters, (March 16th and 27th,) which I read with all the pleasure imaginable. They were so very kind, that if it were possible, you are dearer to me ten thousand times than ever you were. I am so entirely yours, that if I might have all the world given me, I could not be happy but in your love.

THE DUKE OF MARLBOROUGH TO THE DUCHESS OF
MARLBOROUGH.

Hague, Oct. 1703.

I have writt by my Lord Argyle to Lord Treasurer to desire him to prevail with the Duke of Queensberry, that the Queen may give the Scotch troop of guards to this Duke, which would fortify him in the good intentions he has for her Majesty's service. He is very hot headed ; but seems to be very honest as to the revolution.

I am ever heart and soul yours.

THE EARL OF PETERBOROUGH TO THE DUCHESS OF
MARLBOROUGH.

March 2, 1704.

You must forgive me if I take the liberty to condole for any losse, and to rejoice for any good fortune that can happen where you have a concern ; your troubles would be very few, if my wishes could prevail, and your happiness would be as great as you deserve. In mee, Madame, you have created a doubt whether I owe you more for your unmerited favours to myself, or for the generall good you doe us all.

I am sorry to find we are so mad a people. However, as often as we show in some public assemblies our folly and pride, we give the Queen fresh occasions of showing her goodness and prudence ; preservation from ourselves, and victory over our enemies, are miracles reserved for her reign, and blessings we obtain from your family.

I have not had the honour of seeing your Grace since I received the Queen's commands, in relation to what I first heard of from yourself. To comply with your thought, to obey your commands, I could have gone against my own beat with satisfaction. But in this, Madame, I fear no other uneasinesse, but when I fear I may not meet those opportunities which may contribute to what I most desire, the

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continuation of that good opinion you have been pleased to honour me with.

I thought it, Madame, the greatest compliment could be made you in the multiplicity of business you are engaged in to refuse myself the honour you have been pleased to allow, that of seeing you sometimes. It is practising the highest denial, and losing the greatest satisfaction out of respect; but I expected before this time the occasion of congratulating your Grace upon the Queen's having disposed of her Parliament,* and you, Madame, of all your family.†

LORD PETERBOROUGH TO THE DUCHESS OF
MARLBOROUGH.

Had I not resisted the temptation I was under the other day, I should have congratulated your Grace even before the news of this glorious action.‡ I was sufficiently satisfied in what might happen from so just a prospect, and enjoyed a pleasure beforehand, which I had much ado to continue; but that I durst not allow myself the honour of troubling you so often with letters. When the Duke of Marl-

* The parliament which met in Nov. 1703, was not prorogued till the 3d of April following, after a session which had caused much vexation to the Queen and the Duchess of Marlborough's party.

† This must allude to the marriage of her third daughter Elizabeth to Scroop Egerton, Lord Brackley, afterwards Earl of Bridgewater.

‡ The battle of Schellenberg, July 2, 1704.

borough was so good with Prince Lewis, and that I knew Prince Eugene commanded upon the Rhine, I had all could give me public joy. But Heaven be praised, Madame, you have added to the public triumph your private satisfaction in the escape of my Lord Duke, exposed to so great hazard. The Queen has now, and I hope ever will have, what is so necessary in England, *successe*. The victory at home is of equal importance with that abroad. The Elector of Bavaria reduced is not of greater advantage to the common cause than what the Queen has now at her feet, all faction here. Every body will now own the effects of the happy influence of those she confides in. Malice and all cabals are defeated; even Parliaments, (I will not say subdued,) but overcome by her Majesty's virtue and the good fortune of her General.

I hope all your feares and uneasinesse are repayed with interest. Have a care of yourself, Madame, for the good of us all; and may no transports of joy or grief ever affect the health of one who contributes so much to a general happiness!

Endorsed by the Duchess.—This Lorde made speeches against the Duke of Marlborough in Parliament, when he served my Lord Oxford's Abigail, and since the Queen's death hee comes to mee and talks as if hee had always been in our interest and of our opinion.*

* In a letter to Mr. Maynwaring at a later period, we shall find the Duchess giving much more at length her opinion of the Earl of Peterborough.

DR. HARE* TO THE DUCHESS OF MARLBOROUGH.

Chelsea College, Jan. 4, 1704-5.

Madam,

I ask your Grace a thousand pardons for suffering you to be surprised by a sight, which could but raise a fresh remembrance of what I am too sensible can never be forgot. Had I in the least apprehended before I came to table that your Grace was not prepared for it, I should have excused my coming, and nothing but the fear of putting your Grace into a greater disorder, hindered me from braving it when I found my mistake. Madam, I am ashamed to think that I have at last done the very thing which I have all along so carefully avoided, that I have rather chosen to seem guilty of great rudeness in not waiting upon your Grace than venture to do it without leave, which Mr. Godolphin had promised me to ask at a favourable opportunity, when your Grace could best bear it. The very tender sense he has upon this head determines me to ask myself your Grace's pardon in this silent manner, rather than trouble so kind an intercessor, who knows the duty and affection with which I am, &c.

FRA. HARE.

* Dr. Hare was fellow of King's College, Cambridge, and tutor of the Marquis of Blandford, the Duke of Marlborough's son. He was afterwards the private chaplain of the Duke of Marlborough, and as such accompanied him in his campaigns. He was at a later period successively Bishop of St. Asaph and of Chichester.

LORD PETERBOROUGH TO THE DUCHESS OF MARLBOROUGH ON HIS DEPARTURE FOR LISBON.*

Madame,

I have not mett with a disappointment that ever made me more uneasy than being hindered from wayting upon your Grace att St. Albans, as I intended.

To return you thanks for all your unmerited favours was an obligation I was very desirous to acquit myself of; but more to have received your good wishes att parting, which would have made mee hope in some measure to partake of the influence of those stars, which, in your family, have been so propitious to England.

As it is, Madame, (were it not too like popery,) we should attribute to you as our saint, a wind that blows as we could wish the first moment we were ready for itt, and it carries us to execute the Queen's commands with such a cheerfulness in seamen and officers, that it makes mee hope wee may have success, which may not be unacceptable to her Majesty.

You have goodnesse, enough, I believe, to allow of the unreasonable pretences of those who have

* Lord Peterborough left Portsmouth on his way to Lisbon, May 24, 1705. The wonderful exploits of the Earl of Peterborough in Spain were commonly hawked about in the form of a chap-book even up to the beginning of the present century.

been honoured with your good opinion ; the favour is so great and agreeable that it must be continued, or the losse were insupportable ; therefore, Madame, you must excuse the repetition, and suffer the most sincere of your servants to beg your protection and your favourable thoughts, which I assure you, Madame, I will endeavour to deserve by all in my power. A commission under the broad seal of no great importance, which has the date the 13th May, obliged mee to receive the Sunday following, and to take the oaths Monday after, in Westminster Hall, after which I took post to meet the fair wind which gives me leave to write to you from Plymouth, I hope out of danger of being obliged to come backwards towards England.

Though we write from a dull element, you will allow us sometimes, Madame, the liberty of giving you some account of our proceedings. I beg you will take us seamen into your care. My Lord Duke has shown he can doe what he will ashore. We want your Grace's protection ; and if you please to give itt us, I hope it will not be ill bestowed.

Madame, your most sincere,

Most humble and obedient servant,

PETERBORO'.

CHARLES III. KING OF SPAIN TO THE DUCHESS OF
MARLBOROUGH.

On Board the Remela, July 27, 1705.

Madame,

As the Queen continues to oblige me in the most generous and obliging manner, I wish to find means of testifying my gratitude to her in the manner which may please her most. Allow me to make use of the person who is most agreeable to her, in order to present my thanks, which ought to be most sincere.* You will be pleased to inform her Majesty, that in her favours and her constant friendship I found all my hopes; that I deem myself to happy in the maternal affection of so great a Queen, but unfortunate in giving her and her subjects so much trouble; while I am uncertain how I shall be able to make amends according to my wishes, for such great obligations.

* Charles III. had, in 1703, visited England, and while here had treated the Duchess of Marlborough with great distinction. Among other marks of attention, he presented her with a ring of great value, which he had worn on his own finger: Charles II. of Spain, urged to it probably by the intrigues of Louis XIV., had shortly before his death in the latter end of 1700, made a testament in favour of the succession of the Duke of Anjou to his throne, in detriment to the right of his own blood, which was of the house of Austria, and this prince was placed on the throne of Spain by the French King as Philip V. The English and Dutch, fearful of the aggrandisement of France, and doubtful of the means by which the will of Charles II. had been obtained, joined with Austria in supporting her right in the person of the Archduke Charles, raised by them to the crown of Spain under the title of Charles III.

What has given me the only satisfaction, is being able to serve her in person. It is also one of the most grateful of her favours to have given me this opportunity. I have learnt, with great chagrin, that the measures taken by my Lord Duke of Marlborough have failed for a want of a correspondence on the part of the allies. These public misfortunes affect me for the share I have in them, and particularly that my Lord Duke is deprived of the success which would always follow his enterprizes if others had no share in them. I rejoice, also, that her Majesty has been pleased to intrust this expedition to my Lord Peterborough, who has the honour to be one of your friends, as I may, from his zeal and attention, hope for very good success, as is evident from his application and the conduct he has hitherto observed. You may be well assured that I shall be well affectioned towards this person and all his house.

*W. letter from the Duke to the Duchess dated Middelburg Aug 1705
See "Duchess's Journals" p. 149.*

LORD SUNDERLAND TO THE DUCHESS OF
MARLBOROUGH.

Vienna, Sept. (8) 19, 1705.

I can't make acknowledgements enough, dear Madam, for your kind letter I received yesterday, of the 21st of August.

I am heartily sorry for the uneasiness you have

had all this summer from the barbarous usage Lord Marlborough has met with from the Dutch deputies and their generals;* and I am sure nobody alive has been more sensibly touched at it than I, both for the vexation such disappointments must give him, as well as upon the public account.

And, indeed, it is so very provoking, I am willing to avoid saying any thing of it; for one can't keep oneself within any bounds; and since it's all over, and therefore can't be helped, the best thing one can do is not to look back, but to endeavour to mend things for another time; and I don't doubt but that will be done; for though there are many that are ill affected among the States, yet the body of the people there are all right; and the resentment Lord Marlborough has justly expressed in his letter to them upon this occasion, has raised a mighty ferment among their people, and will have, I don't doubt, a mighty effect.

I give you many thanks for the good news you send me, that what I have took the liberty of mentioning two or three times in my letters to you, will at last be done.† The other remove you mention

* Alluding to the conduct of the Dutch deputies, who in August 1705, by their ill-judged and factious opposition, hindered the Duke from attacking the French, and in all probability gaining an important victory, in the neighbourhood of the ever memorable field of Waterloo.

† The removal of Wright, and appointment of Cowper: he was appointed Oct. 11.

will be a very fortunate thing; for, believe me, nobody has done more mischief than that person.*

I am mighty glad you have been able to persuade Lord Bridgewater to sett up Harry Mordaunt,† for I dare say it will have the good effect of uniting him and Lord Wharton, which will make all things hereafter easy in that country. I must say one thing in general upon all this, and that *very sincerely, and without the least compliment, that if England is saved it is entirely owing to your good intentions, zeal, and pains you have taken for it.*

* * * * *

There is no news worth troubling you with, but that of the King of Spain's landing. As for our affairs of Hungary, they stand just as they did, and I am very much afraid we shall be able to do but little good in that matter.

THE DUKE OF MARLBOROUGH TO THE DUCHESS OF
MARLBOROUGH.

Ancott, Sept. 24, 1705.

I received last night your dear letter of the 5th, from Winchester. It is true, as you said, that our

* Possibly the Duke of Buckingham.

† The Hon. Henry Mordaunt, second son of the Earl of Peterborough. He and Charles Egerton were members for Brackley, in Northamptonshire, in the session of 1705-6.

secretary writes me word that he was out of town, the other, that he had nothing to do with the Gazette;* but that he will from henceforward take more of it; and that the man shall be changed as soon as Mr. Secretary Hedges comes to town. I pity you for what you suffer by the baseness of 246 (Lady Frecheville),† but if you should leave off visiting and give your reason for it, I should think that might be the occasion of some more disagreeable discourses; but I should think it might be better if you did tell some part of what you have been told, to 247 (Mrs. Boscawen), and that might make her more cautious for the future, for you never can make her a good woman; but if it has the effect to make her hold her tongue, it is all you ought to expect. I am every day more and more convinced that 74 (Lord Pembroke)‡ coming to 16 (Holland or the Hague),

* A garbled account of the Duke's movements, in the affair mentioned in p. 11, note *, was published in the London Gazette, which seemed to throw some discredit on his own courage and judgment, and was apparently done with the intention of injuring his reputation. In answer to the Duke's complaint, Sir Ch. Hedges excused himself by saying he was out of town, and Harley asserted that he had no control over the gazetteer, laid the blame on the editor, and promised that he should be dismissed. See London Gazette, Aug. 16 to Aug. 20, 1705, and Coxe, Mem. of Marl. i. 447-8, first ed.

† Lady Fretcheville, or Frescheville, was lady of the bed-chamber in waiting to Queen Anne.

‡ In the first warmth of indignation at the conduct of the Dutch deputies, the English ministry had resolved that the Earl of Pembroke should be dispatched to Holland with a remonstrance, but the Queen was persuaded to recal the order by the representations of the Duke.

would do great hurt, so that I do not doubt but 72 (the Queen) will put an end to that journey. What you say of 244 (qy. the Queen, or at least a Lady), is the language of the partisans of 17 (the Pretender?), for it is most certain they are extreme desirous of having 2 (peace). As I expect no good from 23 (France), I hope in God there will be care taken that 79 (the Queen) may consent to nothing that may justly give offence to 14 (the Emperor or the Allies). I am very much of your mind, that the new club you speak of in Ireland, ought to be discontinued.*

LORD SUNDERLAND TO THE DUCHESS OF
MARLBOROUGH.

[Probably 1706, in March or April.]
Saturday night.

I have the honour of your letter this afternoon, and am sorry to see you are so much in the spleen upon your coming to Windsor; but I hope you will find things mend every day; though I am sure they will never do so if you should take any such resolution as you mention in your letter. For as every thing that is well is entirely owing to you and the

* There is some difficulty in understanding this letter, because the cypher used in it seems to differ entirely from the one adopted in the later correspondence.

pains you have taken ; and I am sure you are too good, and wish too well to the publick to give over doing all you can. I own the return you met with is very disagreeable. I don't doubt but you will overcome all that at last.

As to that you relate in relation to me, and Mrs. Morley's answer, it is a great deal more favourable than I expected, having been represented to her, as I am again, with having cloven feet. But be that as it will, I shall have and act with the same zeal for her service ; and I own I have no other concern in this matter, but that one would not make a very ridiculous figure, which, next to doing an ill thing, I would endeavour always to avoid. I beg leave to mention one thing, I forgot to speak to you of yesterday, that is about Lord Wharton's being Justice in Eyre. I can't but think now of the closing of this union ; and before he goes out of town, it would be a mighty right compliment to make him. All our friends here are of the same mind. I beg you would mention it to Lord Treasurer, that if he is of that mind, the Queen might do it when she comes to town : for little things done with a good air, do often please more than greater.

If you give me leave, I will write out the cipher I have by me, and send it you ; for since you are so good as to allow me to trouble you, it may be of use.

Lord Somers shewed me to-day a letter he had from Lord Halifax, by which I see he is delighted with Lord Marlborough.* I will venture to answer for one thing, that the more Lord M. converses and acts with the Whigs, the more he will be satisfied. They intend nothing but what is for his service as well as the publick.

Lady S. is pretty well again, but is a good deal dispirited and faint.

Endorsed by the Duchess.—Letter in which Lord S. expresses how much good I have done for the Whigs.

THE DUKE OF MARLBOROUGH TO THE DUCHESS OF
MARLBOROUGH.

Hague, April (16) 27, 1706.

After two very troublesome nights I got to this place, where I received the enclosed letter, which I desire you will give to 117 (Lord Sunderland), that he may shew it those persons that were acquainted with my letter, this being an answer to it. I have also sent another letter and my answer to it, to No. 91 (Lord Godolphin), as well as by my sending 136 (Cadogan), at a time in which he is so useful to me. I desire you would speak to 91, that he would shew

* He was abroad with the Duke in 1706, and proceeded to Hanover.

those letters to 117. I am sure my dearest soul will be so just and kind to me as to believe that the greatest support I have in these troubles are, that at last I shall be relieved, with the blessing of living quietly with her which my heart longs for.

THE DUKE OF MARLBOROUGH TO THE DUCHESS OF
MARLBOROUGH.

Hague, April 23, 1706.

I am very uneasy at not having heard from you since my being in this country; and the wind continuing in the east, I am afraid I shall not have the satisfaction of receiving any letter from my dearest soul before I leave this place, which will be the next week. I am yet in uncertainty where I shall serve this summer, for Cadogan* is not yet returned from Hanover; but by a letter I have received from the King of Denmark, and that I send by this post to Lord Treasurer, I see that I must not depend upon any of the Danish troops; so that if Hanover should persist in doing the same, though these people should consent to what I propose, it will not be in our power to find the troops necessary, which gives me, as you

* General Cadogan, the confidential friend of the Duke of Marlborough, afterwards created Earl Cadogan by George I. He was sent to Hanover by the Duke on secret negotiations the day the preceding letter was written.

may imagine, a good deal of vexation. I hope my next will let you know the certainty of what I shall be able to do.

My dearest soul, my desire of being with you is so great, that I am not able to express the impatience I am in to have this campaign over. I pray God it may be so happy that there may be no more occasion of my coming, but that I may ever stay with you, my dearest soul.

THE DUKE OF MARLBOROUGH TO THE DUCHESS OF
MARLBOROUGH.

Hague, (April 25) May 6, 1706.

I shall not repeat to my dearest soul what I have writ to Lord Treasurer concerning the operations of this campaign, which has so ill begun in Italy, and I am afraid also in Germany. I have been of late extremely troubled with the headache, but I hope in a few days to be quit of it, since I shall leave this place a Sunday night, in order to be with the army a Wednesday, near Maestricht.

Lord Monthermer* has pressed Lord Halifax and myself that he might return for England, saying that

* The Duke's son-in-law, Lord Monthermer, and the Earl of Halifax, accompanied Marlborough to Holland, where they all landed April 27, (N. S.) 1706. They were with him at the siege of Menin.

he could have no happiness whilst he stayed abroad. I own to you that I did not disapprove of what he said, but my answer was, that I desired he would consult Lord Halifax, and take care not to anger his father. How it will end I do not know, but I am told to-night that Doctor Silvester is for his staying.

When the yacht returns for Lord Halifax, I must desire you would send one of the pieces of the Princess Sophia's hangings which has little figures on it, for the man at Bruxelles is obliged to make my hangings of the same fineness. I hear the letters are come to the Briel, so that to-morrow morning I shall have the happiness of hearing from you, which I shall be sure to thank you for by a letter I shall have to go by the next post.

THE DUKE OF MARLBOROUGH TO THE DUCHESS OF
MARLBOROUGH.

(April 28) May 9, 1706.

I am to thank you for your three letters, which I received yesterday morning, and for your kind expressions, which I do return with a sincere heartfull of love for my dearest soul, and at the same time assure you, that during the remainder of my life I shall be careful in doing every thing that may oblige you. I hope that you may forget whatever I may

c 2

have said or done that might have made you uneasy, for my whole thoughts are bent on the being happy with you. I know not what letter you may have seen that should make you think that I had told my design to 360.* I do assure you that I never did; but two nights ago, when I took leave of him, I told him that we had resolved to send ten thousand men for 28 (Italy), which I desired he would let 91, (Lord Godolphin) know. This was what I did not expect should be kept a secret; for almost as soon as he shall be in England we shall make the men march. It is true that I did endeavour to get all the information of him I could of the posture of affairs in 28 (Italy); but to this minute he knows nothing more of my design than the sending these ten thousand men. I should not say so much of this matter, but that I am uneasy that you and 117, (Lord Sunderland) could think I did not know 360 so as not to trust him. Every thing goes ill in Germany, as well as in Italy, so that if we have not good news from Spain and Portugal, it must go ill with us; for in Flanders, where I shall be forced to be, I am afraid the whole summer there will be very little action, for the French will not venture in this country, unless they have a very great superiority, which I do not think is likely. Pray make my

* Possibly Lord Monthermer, or Halifax.

excuse to Lord Sunderland, that I cannot thank him for his (letter) till I come to the army ; but I have directed Mr. St. John to enter into his book Captain Beard when there be a vacancy.

THE DUKE OF MARLBOROUGH TO THE DUCHESS OF
MARLBOROUGH.

Hague, April 30, 1706.

I had but just time to write two words yesterday by Captain Saunders, since which we have had the ill news of the French having forced one of Prince Eugene's quarters in Italy, which, joined with the apprehensions every body has for the King of Spain's being in Barcelona, create a great deal of fear in this country, which makes me find them the more unwilling to part with men, which, in my opinion, is the only way of saving them.

I expect Cadogan here about Tuesday, and in five or six days after I shall leave this place ; and I am sure you are so kind as to believe that I shall with pleasure take all the pains imaginable this campaign, being fully persuaded that good success is the only thing that can give me the blessing of ending my days quietly with you, my dear soul.

THE DUKE OF MARLBOROUGH TO THE DUCHESS OF
MARLBOROUGH.

Burchloen, May 9, 1706.

It is impossible for my dearest soul to imagine the uneasy thoughts I have every day in thinking that I have the curse at my age of being in a foreign country from you, and at the same time very little prospect of being able to do any considerable service for my country or the common cause.

* * * * *

I agree entirely with you that Stephens ought not to be forgiven before sentence, but after he is in the Queen's power, if her Majesty has no objection to it, I should be glad he were forgiven; but I submit it to her Majesty's pleasure and the opinion of my friends. I do not know who the author of the review is; but I do not love to see my name in print, for I am persuaded that an honest man must be justified by his own actions, and not by the pen of a writer, though he should be a zealous friend.*

* See Lydian, vol. 2, p. 2.

QUEEN ANNE TO THE DUCHESS OF MARLBOROUGH.

Wednesday noon, Dec. 1706.*

I have, upon my dear Mrs. Freeman's pressing letter about Mr. Stephens, ordered Mr. Secretary Harley to put a stop to his standing in the pillory, till further orders, which is in effect the same thing as if he was pardoned.

Nothing but your desire could have inclined me to it ; for, in my poor opinion, it is not right. My reason I will tell you when I have the happiness of seeing you. Till then, my dear Mrs. Freeman, farewell.†

THE DUKE OF MARLBOROUGH TO THE DUCHESS OF MARLBOROUGH.

May 20.

I am very glad you have prevailed with the Queen for pardoning Stephens. I should have been very

* This is the date in the original, but it must be an error, as the preceding and following letters will show.

† The Duke, though so deeply wounded by the scurrilous attack, was too magnanimous to cherish feelings of vengeance against the author. Stephens, the author of the libel, was condemned to a fine and to stand in the pillory, but, after his judgment, he wrote a letter to the Duchess of Marlborough, begging that the latter part of the sentence might be remitted, representing to her the disgrace which would fall upon himself and family, he being a clergyman (the rector of Sutton), and the shock which it must give to the feelings of his wife. The Duchess was moved by this appeal, and earnestly interceded with the Queen for a remission of the degrading part of his sentence:

uneasy if the law had not found him guilty, but much more uneasy if he had suffered the punishment on my account.

LORD PETERBOROUGH TO THE DUCHESS OF
MARLBOROUGH.

Barcelona, May 13, 1706.

Give me leave to assure your Grace that in these fortunate successes one of my greatest satisfactions is, that I hope you are of opinion I have done all in my power to justify your favour to me. You cannot imagine, Madame, how much the dependence on your protection has given me heart in the greatest difficulties; and I flatter myself so far as to think I may hope for the continuance of your friendship, which I value at the highest rate, and shall endeavour by all means in my power to preserve. I want now another reward which your goodness would allow me, if it were possible, a quiet dinner at the lodge. I would then return with most satisfaction to my drudgery; but a continued absence is very cruel from those we respect; and the liberty the Queen has given me is a very great favour, which I shall never make use of, but when I shall think it of no prejudice to the public.

I trouble not your Grace with the particulars of

the raising of the seige of Barcelona, so fatal and shameful to the French; having given my Lord Treasurer the account.

I only beg to assure your Grace of my most unfeigned respects.

THE DUKE OF MARLBOROUGH TO THE DUCHESS OF
MARLBOROUGH.

Merlebeck, near Gant, May (20) 31, 1706.

I am obliged to you for your kind letter of the 10th, and do hope your children will every day be more sensible of your goodness and kindness, so that you may be all happy, which is what I do with all my heart pray for. It is now four days ago since I sent for a pass for Lord Monthermer to come to the army; but the Mareschal de Villeroy is either very much out of humour, or in so great a hurry, that he has not yet sent it. I am the uneasier at this, because I think the young man is very desirous of returning for England, as would your humble servant, if he were master of himself. I own to you, the pains I now take I do very cheerfully, believing that this campaign, if the blessing of God continues, will go a great way towards the having a long and happy peace.

. I have sent to Lord Treasurer what is come to my knowledge concerning 363, (Lord Raby.)* If 321, (the King of Prussia) should continue uneasy, it must at last end in recalling 363.

I do hope that Lady Sunderland, being with child, will do her no hurt; for her sister Monthermer there can be no fear, for she is very strong.

THE DUKE OF MARLBOROUGH TO THE DUCHESS OF
MARLBOROUGH.

Monday, May 24th, 11 o'clock, 1706, Ramilies.

I did not tell my dearest soul the design I had of engaging the enemy, if possible, to a battle, fearing the concern she has for me might make her uneasy; but I can now give her the satisfaction of letting her know that on Sunday last we fought, and that God Almighty has been pleased to give us a victory. I must leave the particulars to this bearer, Colonel Richards, for having been on horseback all Sunday, and after the battle marching all night, my head aches to that degree, that it is very uneasy to me to

* Thomas Wentworth, Baron Raby, created Earl of Strafford in 1711. He was repeatedly ambassador to Berlin, Vienna, and the States General. For an account of his differences with the court of Prussia, and the trouble which it gave the Duke of Marlborough, see Coxe.

write. Poor Bingfield,* holding my stirrup for me, and helping me on horseback, was killed. I am told that he leaves his wife and mother in a poor condition. I can't write to any of my children, so you will let them know I am well, and that I desire they will thank God for preserving me; and pray give my duty to the Queen, and let her know the truth of my heart, that the greatest pleasure I have in this success is, that it may be a great service to her affairs; for I am sincerely sensible of all her goodness to me and mine. Pray believe me when I assure you that I love you more than I can express.

LORD HALIFAX TO THE DUCHESS OF MARLBOROUGH.†

Hanover, (May 21) June 1, 1706.

The letters are just come in that bring in the particulars of Lord Marlborough's glorious victory. I cannot express my joy and transport; and no other consideration pleases me more than the thoughts of what satisfaction and delight it will be to your Grace.

Madam, this last glorious act has exalted and crowned the wife. All Europe may now soon be in

* The Duke's aid-de-camp. See Coxe's *Life of Marlborough*.

† Congratulations on the victory at Ramillies.

safety and repose ; and no happinesse that your Grace and Lord Marlborough can propose to yourselves will be thought sufficient for your merit.

I hope to wait on your Grace often at Woodstock, often at the Lodge, and never at Greenwich.* Madam, I am in such raptures ; I could go on eternally on this subject, but can think on nothing else. By next post I may be able to give your Grace some account of this court ; but, at present, nothing but the course of Lord Marlborough's good fortune is worth speaking of. I have been extremely well received ; and this morning the Electress sent me the enclosed letter for your Grace, and another which I am to send to the D. of M.

THE DUKE OF MARLBOROUGH TO THE DUCHESS OF
MARLBOROUGH.

Merlebeck, June 3, 1706.

What you write of the intelligence 73 has concerning 322, I am very confident that it is not true ; that they had and have a great mind to have the command is very certain ; but it is as true that they know that 90 (Marlborough) could not do them any service, 19 being positively resolved never to consent.

* Lord Halifax witnessed the parting of the Duke and Duchess at Greenwich.

I am so much of your opinion that I do assure you Lord Feversham's* nephews shall never be recommended by me for the favour of 83 (the Queen), for I think their behaviour has noways deserved it. I shall write the same to 91 (Lord Godolphin). It is a very great pleasure to me to find you are satisfied with three of your children, and hope in God that 392 (probably Lady Monthermer) will in time be truly sensible of the great obligations she has to you. You know my mind as to Lord Feversham's estate; and I think you cannot do better than to let Mr. Guidot and the Attorney-General manage that matter.

Yours of the 17th is so very kind that it has given me infinite pleasure; and if you see Dr. Garth, you may tell him that I think myself much obliged to him.

THE DUKE OF MARLBOROUGH TO THE DUCHESS OF
MARLBOROUGH.

Hague, June 10, 1706.

By yours of the 2nd I see you are afraid I should be deceived by compliments that may be made by a

* Lewis de Duras, Earl of Feversham. He had a command at the battle of Sedgemoor, where the unfortunate Duke of Monmouth was defeated, and he was commander of King James's army at the time of the revolution.

sort of people (Tories) that would destroy me. I do assure you that you may be at ease ; for no compliments nor any other consideration can ever make me be *leagued* to any body, that is not dutiful and zealous to the Queen and her government. I shall by the next post answer Lord Rochester's* letter, and then you shall have it to see. I am in such a hurry that I must end by assuring that I love you with all my soul. You know my thoughts as to the points which ought to be considered before the opening of Parliament.

I am to have a set of horses from the Elector of Hanover, they are to meet at the Hague ; and I would bring them over or keep them here, as you shall think best. A set of hanging is at Antwerp for 1800*l.*, bespoken by the late King, worth much more. Would you have me buy them ? They have neither silver nor gold.

LORD GODOLPHIN TO THE DUCHESS OF MARLBOROUGH.

Wednesday, June 14, 1706-7.

As to what you say of the Whigs, I am to learn that till they have the power in their hands they will

* Laurence Hyde, second son of the great Earl of Clarendon. At this time he was distinguished as one of the leaders of the more violent Tories.

be against every thing that may be an assistance to the Queen and the Government; and if it were not for that consideration, they would certainly be for Lord Albemarle against Lord Portland; the first having always been their patron and support to the last moment of the late King's reign.

LORD PETERBOROUGH TO THE DUCHESS OF
MARLBOROUGH.

Palencia, June 26, 1706.

Madame,

The joy is inexpressible with which we received the happy news of so glorious a day,* the influence of which we shall feel in these parts; and my Lord Duke of Marlborough has in Flanders cleared our way to Madrid. It is not improbable your Grace may receive letters of my Lord Gallway† sooner from thence than mee. We see nothing can oppose him; and the troops are likewise from Valencia towards the capital, some of them are half way towards Madrid, and we expect the King here in a few days. If the season, the sickness of our men, or other disappointments, prevent our immediate succeſſe, we

* Battle of Ramilies.

† Lord Gallway commanded in Portugal in 1705, at the time of Peterborough's arrival.

look upon ourselves under your Grace's protection, and depend upon the necessary supports towards winter. You will give me leave to beg for myself the liberties of the Lodge and Blenheim, and leave to work in the garden, if I have the good luck to return to England; and the greatest satisfaction will be the continuation of your good opinion and favour.

THE DUKE OF MARLBOROUGH TO THE DUCHESS OF
MARLBOROUGH.

Bruxelles, July 1, 1706.

Since my last I have had the pleasure of yours of the 11th, as also one from 49 (George Churchill?), in which he does assure me that he is desirous of doing every thing that might please you and 91 (Godolphin). I am afraid there is somebody else that makes 82 (the Prince?) and Mrs. Morley uneasy. I do from my soul wish her all the happiness in the world; and it is certain that God has blessed her reign much above what has been for a long time. But we have had such a villanous race of vipers amongst us, that whilst she is admired by all people abroad, they are studying how to make her and those that serve her uneasy. I really am not concerned for myself: I could retire then, and live with much more pleasure

released, if I were sure that 83 (the Queen) and 91 (Godolphin), would not want my service. It is very mortifying to see that nothing can amend 392 (Lady Monthermer?). I beg of you to do me the justice, and yourself the ease, to believe, that whatever they say can have no credit with me, when you assure me of the contrary. I can and do grieve as much as any parent can, when a child is unkind. We must hope the best, and be always careful not to resent their carriage to such a degree as to make the town the judge who is in the right.

I am sure 73 (Mrs. Burnet, probably), knows no body living can more sincerely attribute the good success to Providence, than I do; for I think the enemy's taking the resolution to venture a battle, which was so much against their interests, could be by no other hand.

I am, with all my heart and soul, yours.

THE DUKE OF MARLBOROUGH TO THE DUCHESS OF
MARLBOROUGH.

Harlebeck, July 8, 1706.

You will have seen by my last letter, that yours of the 17th had given me a great deal of uneasiness; but as that gave me trouble, so yours of the 20th and 21st have given me great satisfaction, for the

quiet of my life depends upon your dear self and children.

What you say in yours of the 20th is so reasonable, that it is impossible but your children must act accordingly ; and you may be sure I shall be careful never to write any thing but what may make them sensible of your kindness, and the obligations they have to you. I have no acquaintance with Dr. Binckes, but I have always heard him reckon'd amongst the violent men, so that I am not surprized at this proceeding. As we are now master of Ostend,* I do by this post write this letter to the Queen which Godolphin desired. I wish, with all my heart, that he met with less uneasiness ; but in this world it is impossible to live and not have them.†

Our letters from all parts give us good reason to believe that King Charles was at Madrid on the 20th of the last month, and that the Duke of Anjou and his Duchess left the place on the 18th, and were gone to Pampelona. If this be true, the French, in reason, will be obliged to raise the seige of Turin. By the account you give, Lady Sunderland‡ is in a dangerous condition. I wish she may leave the world with that tenderness which she owes her son.

* Ostend capitulated on the 6th July.

† Referring to the difficulties in the cabinet.

‡ Old Lady Sunderland.

By your saying nothing to me of your going to Woodstock, I find your heart is not set on that place as I could wish. Vanburgh writes me that I shall not see him in the army, believing that I shall approve better of his going into Oxfordshire.

LORD PETERBOROUGH TO THE DUCHESS OF
MARLBOROUGH.

July, 1706.

Your Grace has, before this can come to your hands, heard of my Lord Gallway's being at Madrid, but will wonder, when I tell you we cannot prevail with the King of Spain to go thither; and his wise ministers have thought fit to defer it from the time it was possible at least two months, if some accident do not prevent it for ever. I might before now have sent your Grace letters from thence, and the King have passed thither without difficulty or danger; and three several councils of war had resolved his Majesty's march by Valencia, when I was forced to make a seige and take Requens to clear his way, which, when done, he is advised to take another, contrary to all I could write, or the Portuguese Ambassador and the Queen's Envoy could say. Her Majesty's happy stars and our good luck may prevent accidents; but I cannot but lament to your Grace

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the trying such dangerous experiments. Your Grace has not been without some great mortifications of this kind, when the want of power has prevented the amazing successes which always attended the Duke of Marlborough when at liberty ; but mine of this kind are eternal, and no history ever produced such an everlasting struggle of the ministers against the interest of their master.

QUEEN ANNE TO THE DUCHESS OF MARLBOROUGH.

Windsor, July 17, 1706.

I had last night the satisfaction of hearing from my dear Mrs. Freeman by my Lord Fitzroy,* and should have thanked you for it then, but that I did not receive it till after I came from taking the air, which was too late to begin to write before I went to supper, and afterwards it is not really easy for me to do it. I cannot say so much to you as I would, but must answer that part of your last letter that concerns my Lord Keeper and his livings. I have a very good opinion of him, and would depend upon his recommendation on any occasion than most people's. But as to this particular, I think the Crown can never have too many livings at its disposal ; and therefore,

* The son of the first Duke of Southampton, and grandson of the celebrated Duchess of Cleveland, mistress of Charles II.

though there may be some trouble in it, it is a power I can never think reasonable to part with ; and I hope those that come after me will be of the same mind. I own I have been very much to blame in being so long disposing of those livings ; but when these are filled up, there shall be no more complaints of me on that account. You wrong me very much in thinking that I am influenced by some you mention in disposing of church preferments. Ask those whom I am sure you will believe, though you won't me, and they can tell you I never disposed of any without advising with them, and that I have preferred more people upon other's recommendations, than I have upon his that you fancy to have so much power with me. You have reason to wonder there is no more changes made yet ; but I hope, in a little time, Mr. Morley and I shall redeem our credit with you at least in that matter, which is all I can now trouble my dear Mrs. Freeman with, but that her poor unfortunate Morley will be faithfully yours to her last moment.

Remark by the Duchess.—This letter was in answer to one I had written to beg of her not to be so long before she disposed of the livings to the clergy, adding how safely she might put power into the hands of such a man as my Lord Cowper.

THE DUKE OF MARLBOROUGH TO THE DUCHESS OF
MARLBOROUGH.

Helchin, July 29, 1706.

I do desire you to make my compliments to the Queen and the Prince for their goodness in remembering Godfrey. For want of rain, we are choked with dust, which, I am afraid, will make the time of my Lord Halifax's stay here seem the more tedious to him. We have no doubt here of King Charles being master of Madrid; however I am impatient to have the confirmation by the way of Lisbon, for the French are so careful that we receive no letters that way.

Our descent begins to give them a good deal of uneasiness, for they have sent some troops into Normandy, which were designed for this country. The Dutch troops are all embarked, and are to make the best of their way to Portsmouth, where I hope they will find every thing ready, for we are already two months later than was at first intended for this expedition.

I had last night your's of the 12th, and must agree with you, that Mrs. Morley saying nothing of my letter, must proceed from not liking the subject matter. I sent by the last post the answer I received; and as she is very sincere, and has a great many other good qualities, in which we ought to think

ourselves happy, I think 117 (Lord Sunderland) and his friends ought not to take it unkindly; for as she is every day sensible of the undutiful and unkind usage she meets with from the greatest part of the Tories, it will bring her to what I am afraid she is yet uneasy at. I can judge of this matter but by what I hear from you and Lord Godolphin. I cannot but think you lay a great deal more to 49's (George Churchill's) charge than what he deserves, for 83 (the Queen) has no good opinion of, nor ever speaks to him. It is certain that if the Queen had ill success, as she has been blessed with good, faction is so strong that they would have made her, and those that have the honour to serve her, very uneasy. For my own part, when I have nothing to reproach myself with, I cannot be very uneasy at what malice can do. But be assured, that whenever the angry party can be strong enough, it is not good success shall protect any body to whom they have anger.

THE DUKE OF MARLBOROUGH TO THE DUCHESS OF
MARLBOROUGH.

Helchin, Aug. 12, 1706.

I have had the happiness of yours of the 25th, and by it I find the present of Mr. Brydges of a much greater value than I could have wished it. I really

do not know what to advise you, but I think your letter is very well till you can see him ; and I shall take care to send it to him.

It is very uneasy to have any body about you that you think is a spy. The best thing you can do is to let Mr. Hodges have somebody to watch him, and to endeavour the intercepting some of his letters ; and if you find he is guilty, take the first occasion of parting with him, without ever telling him the true reason. After what you have said to me of Foster and his sister, I shall be sure to have care of him. I always thought them proud, simple, and Jacobites ; but very honest.

I find Lord Treasurer thinks Mr. Methuen* a great loss. You know what my opinion always has been of him. I believe his son, by what I have heard of him, is an ingenious young man.

I did, some time after the battle, receive a very obliging letter from 66, (Earl of Mar ?) I believe he will be very uneasy at 118 having the place you mentioned, it being a demonstration that he must expect nothing. But I think his pride will make him take care not to have it seen ; but whatever mischief he can do underhand may be expected.

I was yesterday at the siege,† and am afraid that it must last till the 25th of this month, which will be

* Mr. Methuen was Envoy to the King of Portugal in 1705.

† Of Menin.

very inconvenient, the Elector having already his army in the field, and next Monday the Duke of Vendome will have his together. This day two years was the battle of Blenheim. I hope you have not forgot the presenting the Queen with the colours. The general officers that were at the battle dine with me to-day.

THE DUKE OF MARLBOROUGH TO THE DUCHESS OF
MARLBOROUGH.

Helchin, Aug. 16, 1706.

I have had your dear letter of the 30th, and I cannot know exactly what money has been advanced to Spence till I come to England, but I think it is 130 odd pounds. Though Woodstock is extremely at my heart, I very much approve of the resolution you have taken of not letting 91 (Godolphin) be spoken to; for, upon my word, I had rather never be in the house than put any difficulty upon him. I have taken care to inform myself of what you write of Mr. Deverel and Foster, and can assure you there has been no money. He is certainly no good servant; but I believe he is an honest man.

THE DUKE OF MARLBOROUGH TO THE DUCHESS OF
MARLBOROUGH.

Helchin, Aug. 19, 1706.

I had this morning yours of the second. I wish with all my heart that happy time were come that we might be at quiet at Woodstock. But I begin to fear that we must have a little patience ; for our affairs are so managed in Spain, that though we have much the superiority of the French, yet they have ordered it so that they are again masters of Madrid ; at least, our letters from France tell us so.

You know that it is always agreeable news to me to hear of your being easy with Mrs. Morley. I wish upon all accounts it may continue. I grow very uneasy of this camp ; for having been near six weeks in it, we begin to want forage and water, for we have had little or no rain this two months.

I am very sorry our descent cannot have a favourable wind, for there is already a great deal of time lost. You wish that 82 (possibly the Prince) had an able and honest man about him. That is much easier wished than found ; for a great many men are capable of every thing till they are tried, and then good for nothing. The Duke of Vendome has sent me back Cadogan * upon his parole, and I am now

* During the siege of Menin, on the 16th August, Brig. Cadogan, the confidential friend of the Duke of Marlborough, was surprised and made prisoner while protecting a foraging party.

endeavouring an exchange. We are now masters of the counterscarp of Menin,* so that in seven or eight days, if we are not disturbed, we shall have the place.

THE DUKE OF MARLBOROUGH TO THE DUCHESS OF
MARLBOROUGH.

Helchin, Aug. 30, 1706.

I am to thank you for three of your dear letters of the 8th, 9th, and 13th. I did in my letter of yesterday by Mr. Brydges answer what you wrote concerning 117 (Lord Sunderland) and 128 (Sir Charles Hedges).† It will not be with you as soon as this, but I thought it a safe way. What 91 (Godolphin) writes to me concerning 360 was what he apprehended, somebody else would recommend him to be employed in the place of 363, and therefore he was desirous 362 might be named. I agree entirely with your opinion that 360 must

* Menin was invested on the 23d July. The Allies entered the place Aug. 25.

† Alluding to the efforts of the Whigs for the dismissal of Sir Charles Hedges, and the appointment of the Earl of Sunderland, after the return of the latter from Vienna. The announcement of the promotion of Sunderland is gazetted 3 Dec. 1706.

never be employed, unless one is contented to be cheated, for he has both capacity and inclination to do it.

I find by your letter that you mistake the reason of my not being fond of having 117 (Lord Sunderland) secretary. However I have by this post wrote as 91 (Godolphin) desired, for when I have given my opinion, and my friends are of another mind, I had much rather be governed than govern; by which humour in the course of my life I have found a great deal of ease.

I have already let you know that Cadogan is at liberty. The letter in which you mention him, there are so very many kind expressions to me, of which I am so sensible, that I would venture to make a grateful return. In short, my dear soul, if I could begin life again, I would endeavour every hour of it to oblige you. But as we can't recall what is past, forget my imperfections, and as God as been pleased to bless me, I do not doubt but he will reward me with some years to end my days with you; and if that may be with quietness and kindness, I shall be much happier than I have ever yet been.

LORD GODOLPHIN TO THE DUCHESS OF MARLBOROUGH.

Windsor, Sept. 14, 1706.

Tho' I don't design to send this letter till Monday by Mr. Maynwaring, yet I can't stay so long from beginning to thank you for the favour of yours by my servant, who brought it me but this morning from Oxford.

You are much better natured in effect than you sometime appear to be, and then you chide me for being touched with the condition in which I saw 83 (the Queen.) You would have been so too, if you had seen the same sight I did; but what troubles me most in all this affair is that one can't yet find any way of making Mrs. Morley sensible of 83's (her) mistakes, for I am very sure she thinks 83 entirely in the right. The foreign letters being still kept back, I have employed last night and this morning in writing a very long letter to 83, of which I will keep a copy to shew you, when I have the happiness to see you, before which time I reckon I shall have some answer to it, and till I find the contrary, I cannot help flattering myself that it will have a good effect. By the account yours gives me of the race, 'twas the greatest compliment that my Lord Kingston* could

* Evelyn Pierrepont, Earl of Kingston, created Marquis of Dorchester Dec. 23, 1706, and Duke of Kingston, July 29, 1715.

make you, to order matters so, as that there should be no running. We were disappointed of running our horse at Oxford, where we had a great design upon the plate, but the articles excluded us.

Mr. Secretary Harley sends me just now a printed Gazette from Paris, in which they own our Italian news to be all true, as we at first heard it, that is to say, the French army beaten, the Duke of Orleans wounded, the Marshal de Marcin killed, and Turin relieved. The same Gazette says, the French have had an advantage against the troops of Hesse in the mountains; but I hope that is not of half so much consequence. There's no confirmation of the reports we had of good news from Spain.

Mr. Secretary Harley writes to me, that it was reported at Calais there had been differences betwixt the Elector of Bavaria and the Duke of Vendome, and that the Duke of Marlborough was gone to the Hague, to prevail with the States that they might make yet another seige, Dendemon and Heth being taken. This comes only by report from Calais, but I don't think it unlikely.

THE DUKE OF MARLBOROUGH TO THE DUCHESS OF
MARLBOROUGH.

Grametz, Sept. 30, 1706.

You may easily imagine my impatience is great, since we have three posts due from England. The good news from Italy must put you as well as us in good humour. The wet weather makes the seige of Ath* go on the slower; however, we hope to have it by the middle of the next week. I think I did in a former letter desire of you to know of Lord Sunderland what he would have done with the set of horses the Elector of Hanover gives him.

My next will be dated in October, which is the month in which I used to leave the campagne, so that I begin to please myself that it will not be long before I shall have the happiness of being with you, which is extremely wished for by him that is entirely yours.

LORD SUNDERLAND TO THE DUCHESS OF
MARLBOROUGH.

September, 1706.

Upon the whole matter we expect no end in this affair, nor any good in any thing we hear from you,

* Ath was invested Sept. 16, 1706, and surrendered Oct. 4.

and are truly sensible of the vexation and uneasiness you undergo. But I am sure without you we had been in confusion long ago. I writt to you last post to know when my Lord Halifax and I might wait upon you at Woodstock with the least trouble to you. I own I reckon upon that journey with a great deal of pleasure, for nobody alive can be more sensible of all your goodness to me, and more tenderly and dutifully yours.

THE DUKE OF MARLBOROUGH TO THE DUCHESS OF
MARLBOROUGH.*

Oct. 1, 1706.

* * * * *

They will let us finish the seige of Ath very quietly, for this army and that of the seige are not above four miles from each other; so that if there were occasion we could join. It were to be wished the fair weather had continued a little longer; for as we are to draw the canon for the seige about†
- - - - - and I do
assure you there is nothing I so much long for in

* Godolphin proposes to retire. Parts of this letter are destroyed, particularly the beginning, so there is no clue either of sense or time, and some parts are drawn through with a pen, as if intended to be omitted.—*Archdeacon Coxe.*

† The original is torn here.

this world, as the blessing of living quietly with you at Woodstock, and that 91 (Lord Godolphin) might be with us. But as to what you say of his quitting, it is wholly impossible, unless it be resolved that every thing must go ill abroad, as well as at home ; for, without flattery, his reputation is as great in all courts as well as at home ; that such a step would go a great way with Holland in particular, to make their peace with France, which at this time must be fatal to the liberties of Europe. But if we can agree upon carrying on the war this next year with vigour, I noways doubt but we should end the rest of our days in quietness, and the Queen be justly and gratefully acknowledged by all the allies as the protectress of their liberties

- - - - -
- - - We have as yet no particulars of what has passed at Turin, but we must be very sure it has been to our advantage, or the French would have before now acquainted us. I do always doubt of my having his Grace of Bucks * good wishes ; but I should hope his wrath should make him not wish this army beaten.

* John Sheffield, Earl of Mulgrave, created Duke of Buckingham in 1703, known also by his literary works. He was a jacobite, and had been removed from office by the exertions of the Whigs in 1705. He was removed from the privy council in the latter end of 1706.

THE DUKE OF MARLBOROUGH TO THE DUCHESS OF
MARLBOROUGH.

Cambron, Oct. 14, 1706.

We are now in the finest camp I ever saw, with the finest weather, which is very agreeable after having had three weeks of the worst that could be seen. If my mind were easy, I could in this place have health ; but how can that be when one thinks of the confusion your letters tell me, must unavoidably be in England. I see no remedy but patience ; for if it were not God's pleasure to punish us for our sins this way, he would never suffer wise men to be so unreasonable ; * for it is certainly the part of madmen to hurt oneself in order to be revenged of others, especially when they are our best friends. I shall say no more on this subject, having resigned myself to the Almighty's pleasure, and I hope it will do good for the remaining part of my life ; for I am sure I will end it without having any further ambition which makes men slaves. We have here no further thoughts of attempting anything more this campaign ; so that if the French attempt nothing, which I believe they will not, our campaign will end in little more than a fortnight. I intend to go to Brussels about

* Meaning the Whigs, who were determined to oppose the government, if Lord Sunderland was not appointed.

ten days hence, for two or three days, and then return to the army, in order to send them to their several quarters, so that the first week in the next month I shall be at the Hague.

THE DUCHESS OF MARLBOROUGH TO QUEEN ANNE.

Sunday Morning, Oct. 20, 1706.

I must, in the first place, beg leave to remind you of the name of Mrs. Morley and your faithful Freeman, because without that help I shall not be well able to bring out what I have to say, it is so awkward to write any thing of this kind in the style of an address, tho' none, I am sure, ever came from a purer heart, nor that can be the tenth part so serviceable to you, if you please, because they are generally meant for compliment, which people in Mrs. Morley's post never want, though very often it turns to their own prejudice. What I have to say is of another nature; I will tell you the greatest truths in the world, which seldom succeeds with any body so well as flattery. Ever since I received the enclosed letter from Mr. Freeman, I have been in dispute with myself, whether I should send it Mrs. Morley or not, because his opinion is no news to you; and after the great discouragements I have

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met with only for being faithful to you, I concluded it was to no manner of purpose to trouble you any more; but reading the letter over and over; and finding that he is convinced he must quit Mrs. Morley's service if she will not be made sensible of the condition she is in, I have at last resolved to send it you, and you will see by it how full of gratitude Mr. Freeman is, by his expressions, which were never meant for Mrs. Morley to see. He is resolved to venture his life and fortune whenever it can be of use to you; and upon recalling every thing to my memory, that may fill my heart with all that passion and tenderness I had once for Mrs. Morley, I do solemnly protest I think I can no ways return what I owe her so well as by being honest and plain. As one mark of it, I desire you would reflect whether you have never heard that the greatest misfortunes that ever has happened to any of your family, has not been occasioned by having ill advice, and an obstinacy in their tempers* - - - - -
 - - - that is very unaccountable. Though 'tis likely nobody has even spoke thoroughly to you ever upon those just misfortunes, I fear there is reason to apprehend there is nothing of this in the case of Mrs. Morley, since she has never been able to answer any argument, or to say any thing that has the least

* Three lines are here erased.

colour of reason in it, and yet will not be advised by those that have given the greatest demonstrations imaginable of being in her interest. I can remember a time when she was willing to take advice, and loved those that spoke freely to her, and that is not five years ago ; and is it possible, that when you seriously reflect, that you can believe you can do the business upon your hands without it? Can flatteries in so short a time have such power? or can you think it is safer to take it from those you have little or no experience of, than from those that have raised your glory higher than was ever expected? And let people talk what they please of luck, I am persuaded whoever governs with the best sense, will be the most fortunate princes.

I am sure this letter will surprise Mrs. Morley, who, I believe, was in hopes she had got quite rid of me, and should never have heard from me again upon any such subject ; but instead of that I have ventured to tell you, you have a fault. There is no perfection in this world ; and whoever will be honest upon that subject, does one in Mrs. Morley's circumstances more service than in venturing a hundred lives for her ; and if I had as many, I am sure I could freely hazard them all to convince her (though used as I don't care to repeat), that she never had a more faithful servant.

I beg you will be pleased to let me have this

letter again, as well as Mr. Freeman's, because I have some reason to think Mrs. Morley will dislike this letter, as she has done many not written with quite so much freedom, and will accuse me to Mr. Freeman and Mr. Montgomery,* without saying what is my fault, which has been often done; and having no copy of this letter, I would have it to shew them, in my own vindication; for nothing sets more heavy upon me than to be thought in the wrong to Mrs. Morley, who I have made the best return to that any mortal ever did; and what I have done has rarely been seen but upon a stage, every body having some weakness or passion, which is generally watched or humoured in Mrs. Morley's place, most people liking better to do themselves good than really to serve another; but I have more satisfaction in losing Mrs. Morley's favour upon that principle, than any mercenary courtier ever had in the greatest riches that has been given; and though I can't preserve your kindness, you can't hinder me from endeavouring to deserve it, by all the ways that are in my power.

Endorsed by the Duchess.—My letter to Mrs. Morley, which you should read before hers.

* A familiar name given to Lord Godolphin in the correspondence between the Queen and the Duchess.

THE DUKE OF MARLBOROUGH TO THE DUCHESS OF
MARLBOROUGH.

Brussels, Oct. 29, 1706.

Since my coming hither I have had the happiness of two of yours from Woodstock, with so kind expressions, which makes me happy in spite of many things I see in almost every body, that give me disquiet. I have but just time to say this to you; for since I have been here, and as long as I stay in this town, I shall not be master of half an hour's time in the four and twenty. I intended to have returned to the army to-morrow, but shall not be able to do it till Sunday; and on Wednesday, the third of the next month, I shall send all the troops to their winter quarters, and the same day begin my journey for Holland.

THE DUKE OF MARLBOROUGH TO THE DUCHESS OF
MARLBOROUGH.

Ghilinghen, Nov. 1, 1706.

The four days I have been at Brussels I have been in so perpetual a hurry that I now think myself quiet by being in the army. The weather is so very fine that I am afraid I shall be obliged to keep the army four or five days longer together than I in-

tended. By my next, you shall know the certainty. I hope you will approve of the letter I write* by the express to 83 (the Queen). I sent 91 (Godolphin) a copy of it, and if my life depended upon it I would not have writt with more earnestness, so that I hope it may have its effects, or I shall despair of being able to do good. I hope you have had at Woodstock the same weather we have had for this fortnight, for I never in my life saw fairer.

THE DUKE OF MARLBOROUGH TO THE DUCHESS OF
MARLBOROUGH.

Ghilinghen, Nov. 4, 1706.

I have kept the army three days longer together than I at first intended, by reason of the fine weather; but, on Saturday the 6th, they shall be sent to their several quarters, so that I hope to be on Monday, the 8th, at the Hague.

In your last, you say that 388 had writ something concerning 90 (Marlborough) that had made you uneasy. I can assure you that you ought not to be uneasy at any thing they say of him. Besides, he tells me that he has heard nothing from them this summer, except a letter of compliment presently after the battle.

* Most probably his letter to the Queen, dated Cambron, Oct. 24.

I know not whether this will find you at Woodstock or at London ; if at the last, I should be glad you would let me know what effect my last letter had on 83 (the Queen), for I wish her so well that I am in the greatest impatience imaginable to know her resolutions, which I pray God may be such as may make her happy, and you also, my dearest soul ; and then nothing can make me unhappy, for I have not a desire of being richer, nor any further ambition than that of ending my days quietly with you when this war shall be happily ended.

We have now two posts due from England, and I do not expect the happiness of receiving them till I come to the Hague, from whence my next letters will be dated.

THE DUKE OF MARLBOROUGH TO THE DUCHESS OF
MARLBOROUGH.

Nov. 8, 1706.

I have had the happiness of yours of the 19th by the express, but your long letter writt by the former post, I believe is gone to the army, which I shall not have till I come to the Hague, which I hope will be to-morrow, though the wind is now very contrary. I embarked yesterday at Antwerp with a fair wind, and was promised I should be this day at the Hague.

I deserve better from you than to have you make excuses for a long letter, for when they are on a subject that sometimes gives me the spleen, yet, coming from you, they are welcome; for, believe this truth, it is only you can make me end my days happily. You say Madam 218 is grown so well satisfied with you, that she intends to write. There is no name to those figures in my cypher. I know the young man you mention for 397's* daughter. I have heard a good character of him; but whilst his father lives his revenue will be very small, so that on all accounts I pity him. What you have been told of 112's loaves and mutton, is, I believe, very true. You know I have no great value for him; but it is certain that, to the best of his understanding, he is very honest to the common cause.

In my next, from the Hague, I shall hope to be able to tell you when I intend to leave that place, for should I stay to finish the treaties begun, this whole would not suffice. But Mr. Stepney† being both capable and honest, I shall put every thing into his hands.

I am so fond of some pictures I shall bring with me, that I could wish you had a place for them till the Gallery at Woodstock be finished; for it is cer-

* Possibly Lord Aylesbury.

† George Stepney, Esq., the friend of Hallifax, successively Envoy to several foreign courts during the reign of William and the commencement of that of Anne. He died in 1707.

tain there are not in England so fine pictures as some of these, particularly King Charles on horse-back, done by Vandyke.* It was the Elector of Bavaria's, and given to the Emperor, and I hope it is by this time in Holland.

Hague, Nov. 9.

Since my arrival here I have had the happiness of two of yours. I am very sorry, by one of 91 (Godolphin's) letters, that my letter will not have the effect I desire on 83 (the Queen), for I am sure I have writ it with all my heart, in hopes it might have set every thing right. I do not suppose that 48† can live long. However, it is an ease to me in having desired it might be for life, for should I die, I know him so well, that he would be turned out, which thought would make me uneasy, since I cannot but have the uneasiness of a brother. You may be sure that I have that love and consideration for you.

THE DUKE OF MARLBOROUGH TO THE DUCHESS OF
MARLBOROUGH.

Nov. 16, 1706.

I have had the happiness of yours of the 26th and 27th, from Windsor; but the packet-boat, which should have brought the letters of the post before,

* The painting now at Hampton Court.

† His brother. The government alluded to was Guernsey.

was taken by a French privateer, so that I have not received the letter in which you say you have given me your opinion of my letter† to 83 (the Queen). But by what you say in yours of the 27th, I see you do not approve of my expressions concerning 73 and 39. As I wrote to her with all my heart for the good of her service, you will easily believe I did not write any thing with a design to do hurt. I am sure whatever I said of those Lords and their friends was what I took to be the truth; and if that does hurt with 83 (the Queen), I cannot help it; but I do hope they are more reasonable, or we shall be very unhappy. The advice you have given to 392 (Lady Monthermer) is so very right, that I hope in God she will be very careful in observing it; for tho' from my heart I believe 128 (Duke of Montague) is capable of every thing that is ill, yet that it is not for her or her husband's interest to see it; and you may be sure when I come to England, I shall join with you in persuading her to observe what you have advised.

If I receive the answer to my letters by Sunday, I shall embark the next day; and if the wind be fair, I may in two days after, have the happiness of being with my dear soul.

Endorsed by the Duchess.—This shews the Duke of Marlborough liked the advice I gave to Lady Monthermer.†

* Dated Cambron, Oct. 24.

† I do not know whom the cipher stands for, but I believe 125 is the old Duke of Montague.—*Coxe.*

LORD PETERBOROUGH TO THE DUCHESS OF
MARLBOROUGH.

1706.

Madam,

I am confident I shall be pitied and approved by your Grace. I have taken care that my actions cannot be misrepresented ; but, from the measures we take now and then, I am afraid of some fatal event. I confess I long to dine in a place where I may drink the health of your Grace ; that honour and satisfaction I shall claim as a favour due to my hearty endeavours at least for the public, and the sincere respect I have ever had, and shall always have, for a family to which I think myself so much obliged, and indeed free and agreeable conversation, if I can pretend to any, is the natural and true reward for the very disagreeable company I keep, while in our German court, I wish I could call it a Spanish one, though that, perhaps, would not mend the matter much.

LORD PETERBOROUGH TO THE DUCHESS OF
MARLBOROUGH.

Madam,

1706?

You must not only allow me to return you thanks for all the favours I receive, but give me leave to say it increases the satisfaction that I conceive I owe

them to your good opinion and protection. I shall seek nothing from other hands, and desire the gardener's place may not be peremptorily disposed of at Blenheim, but that I may have a pretence kept on foot to dispute with my Lord Ranelagh upon that subject.

The honour of a line from your Grace is so great a cordial, and revives me so much when I am almost expiring under the thoughts of German folly, that you must allow it me sometimes out of good nature, or give it me upon a public score ; if you think me of use to the Queen, who is equally adored and esteemed in all parts of the world, I believe even in that court whose tyranny and power she so successfully endeavours to destroy.

QUEEN ANNE TO THE DUCHESS OF MARLBOROUGH.

I am very sorry my Lord Treasurer's cold is so bad, and I will be sure to speak to the Prince to command all his servants to do their duty ; if they should not obey him, I am sure they do not deserve to be any longer so ; and I shall use my endeavours that they may not, but I hope they will not be such villains ; and if they do not do what they ought, I am certain it will be none of the Prince's fault. I am in such haste I can say no more but that I am

very sorry dear Mrs. Freeman will be so unkind as not to come to her poor unfortunate, faithful Morley, who loves her sincerely, and will do so to the last moment.

QUEEN ANNE TO THE DUCHESS OF MARLBOROUGH.

Monday night.

Just as I came from Basset I received my dear Mrs. Freeman's letter, and though it is very late, I cannot content myself without thanking you for it. I hope by this time you have seen Lord Treasurer how innocent I am of one complaint, and so I think I am in all the others; for as for my not saying any thing to you in the Duke of Marlborough's letter, I did not think it necessary, nor you would not either at any other time. And as to not enquiring after you the first time you came from Margate, how was it possible, not hearing of it till I was just going out of town myself? I shall dine at St. James's, an it please God, to-morrow, and shall be very glad to see you there, when I am alone; and be assured, whenever you will be the same to me as you was five years ago, you shall find me the same tender, faithful Morley.*

* The petty and peevish complaints which the Duchess was accustomed to make to the Queen will sufficiently appear from one of her letters, on which the Duchess comments in the following words:—

“ In this letter she attempts to excuse what some time ago she would have thought inexcusable, such neglects as are inconsistent with love and friendship.”

LORD GODOLPHIN TO THE DUCHESS OF MARLBOROUGH.

Windsor, Sunday night, 1706.

According to your commands, I gave your letter to Mrs. Morley; as she was going to put it in her pocket, I told her that you made me promise to beg of her to read it before I went out of the room. She did so; and then said she believed you had mistaken some words at the latter end of the former letter, which she seemed to think had a different sense from that which I had given her from you; but because you desired I might see it, she would look for it, and give it me, which she did, and desired me to return it to her to-day. I come now from giving it back into her hands, and I think I have convinced her that her complaint was grounded upon her having misapprehended the sense of your letter, by not reading it right; that is to say, by reading the word *notion* for nation.

To explain this more clearly to you, I send you a copy of the conclusion of your first letter to her, taken as far back as I thought was enough to shew the plain sense and meaning of your letter. At the same time I must own, that in your original letter that word *notion* was not as distinctly written but that one might naturally read it *nation*, if the sense of two or three lines together before, did not fully explain your meaning.

As to the main point, she has only told me that she had written a letter to me, as she said she would, to explain her difficulty, but she must write it out before she could give it me.

The Duke of Shrewsbury has desired Mr. Secretary Hedges to ask leave for M. de Croisy* - - -
- - - - - exchanged to carry some horses into France.

I mention this only as a mark of my being entirely out of his favour, or else he would have written to me sooner than to an absolute stranger, but I am apt to think I am not very long to be the mark of every one's displeasure.

THE DUKE OF MARLBOROUGH TO THE DUCHESS OF
MARLBOROUGH.

Margate, March 31, 1707.

Fearing my letter might not meet you last night on the road, I write this, tho' I am not out of hopes of having the happiness to see you this afternoon. I was so sick at sea that I am not yet recovered; but I believe this north east wind will give me time for it, if fretting will give leave to it. My dear soul, I can't be happy when from you, so that with all my

* Some words illegible.

heart I wish for a speedy end of this war. Pray let Lord Ryалton* know the directions I gave to Mr. St. John concerning his officer, and I did forget to speak to you as I promised my brother George I would, that when you renewed your patent for the park, that you would then do his for life. When you see him, pray say two kind words to him, as being brother to him that loves you with all his heart. I do not trouble Lord Sunderland, since he will see what I send Lord Treasurer.

THE DUKE OF MARLBOROUGH TO THE DUCHESS OF
MARLBOROUGH.

Brille, April (5) 16, 1707.

After having been four tedious days at sea, I landed this evening at Helvetsluys. On Thursday morning, at eight of the clock, I heard the canon fire when you went from Margate; I did with all my heart and soul wish myself with you. I am now going to bed to try to sleep; for my head is so giddy that it is all I can do to write this letter, that you may know by the first opportunity that I am landed. By Tuesday's post you shall be sure to hear from me from the Hague. My service to Lord Treasurer.

* Godolphin was created Earl Godolphin and Viscount Rialton, Dec. 29, 1706.

*For "Arrival in Holland" from the Hague dated April 9 1707
see "Sunderland Papers" p. 155.*

THE DUKE OF MARLBOROUGH TO THE DUCHESS OF
MARLBOROUGH.

The King of Sweden's quarters, April 16, 1707.

You will by this know that I am got safe to this place, and I think with great diligence, being here last night time enough to see Count Piper, and this morning the King. I have been received with very kind expressions ; but as I intend to stay but two or three days at most, I shall not have one hour to myself, so that you must not expect an account of my journey till I return to the Hague, where I long to be, since I must expect no letters from you till I come there. The King of Poland has this evening sent a gentleman to make me compliments, and to let me know that he is come to Leipsic on purpose to speak to me, so that I go to him to-morrow, which will occasion my staying one day longer here than I intended.

THE DUKE OF MARLBOROUGH TO THE DUCHESS OF
MARLBOROUGH.

Hague, April 29, 1707.*

I returned to this place last Sunday, by which you will see that I have used such diligence, that I was but eighteen days on the journey. Now that it is over, I am extremely well pleased to have made it, since I am persuaded it will be of some use to the public, and a good deal to the Queen. I shall not enter into particulars, having written at large to the Lord Treasurer. This journey has given me the advantage of seeing four Kings,† three of which I had never seen; they seem to be all very different in their kinds; if I was obliged to make a choice, it should be the youngest, which is the King of Sweden.

I should be glad to know if it be true that 255 (Mrs. Burnet), intends to make a journey to Hanover, because they have already notice of it, and the character given of her there is that she is a great friend of 240 (Duchess of Marlborough), so that I think she comes about their business, which I know is impossible to be with the knowledge of 240. I wish,

* With this letter the Duke and Duchess begin a new cypher, probably the one which he somewhere alluded to as having been given to him at Margate by the Duchess, and which we find much less difficulty in decyphering.

† The King of Sweden, the King of Prussia, and the two Kings of Poland.

with all my heart, she may not undertake this journey, for it must do harm with 42 (Queen), and can be of no use to anybody.

I wish, with all my soul, I had been with you, at St. Alban's, for every day and action of my life convinces me that I can't be happy, but by being in quiet with you, which I am afraid will not be so soon as I did hope, for I am very apprehensive that the conduct of King Charles will lengthen the war. I have sent Lord Treasurer a letter from Comte Noyelles, I believe, of a fresher date than his are, by which I think they are doing every thing that is wrong, which is very cruel, since a little success on that side, would make all things sure.

I had written thus far, before we had the disagreeable news from France, of a battle in Spain ; I hope it is not so bad as they make it, but I am afraid our affairs in that kingdom are in a bad condition. I am to thank you for several of your letters, which I had the pleasure of finding here ; your kindness is the only thing that can make me entirely happy. Mrs. How is here, and tends for England by the first convoy, which makes her going so uncertain. When I left the Court of Sweden, I was given to understand that the King intended his picture should be at the Hague, for me, before the end of the campaign. The King of Prussia forced a ring upon me, which is said to be worth a thousand pounds.

THE DUKE OF MARLBOROUGH TO THE DUCHESS OF
MARLBOROUGH.

Bruxelles, May 4, 1707.

I write to thank you for two of yours since my last. The measures of the rooms are so well explained, that I believe it will be an advantage to the hangings. I am very sorry to tell you that, since my arrival here, I see by all the letters from France, that our misfortune in Spain is much more to our disadvantage than was at first reported ; I am afraid we may take it for granted, that it is as bad as may be. My chiefest hope is, that the army in Italy will enter France, and, in that, the Court of Vienna do all the mischief they can. My thoughts, joined with the little satisfaction you have in the inclination and behaviour of 42 (the Queen), makes me quite weary of being in the world. Since I have left you I have taken more pains than I myself thought I could go through. I shall continue to do my best, but it will always be with a desire of retiring ; for there is no being in business with any pleasure. For I must own that I hate myself, when I consider the letter I wrote to 4 (Earl of Hallifax), in which I said, in few words, as much as if I had committed a fault to a man that I owed my fortune to ; which has had no other effect but giving him an opportunity of using me ill, by never so much as taking notice of it, which is all one could do to a servant of one's own.

I can't forbear venting myself, but I conjure you to say nothing of it. I did say something of it to Lord Sunderland, in my last letter, and so that he might not think me in the wrong, when he shall come to know that I think myself ill used by 4 (Earl of Hallifax) as I do. I hope I shall have so much care of myself as to let nobody but you know it; and I do promise you that, from this minute, it shall give me no more uneasiness.

I do not know who you meant by two men that are preferred, which gives discontent to 89 (the Whigs), for 38 (Godolphin) has said nothing to me of any alterations.* By your letter I know he must be very uneasy, which I am sorry for; for I can't see a probability how he can ever be out of business, or how he can please, considering the temper of 239 (the Queen).

When I left England I was in hopes that every thing would go well, but as it is, I hope I shall have no hand in the making of 81 (Peace), so that I may not be in the power of being used ill, as well as contemptible.

Upon Saturday the army will be encamped at Halle, and then I shall leave this place, so that you will hear regularly from me: now I have no pleasure so great as writing to, and hearing from my dearest soul, for in you are all my hopes of happiness.

* Does this refer to the appointment to bishopricks of two tories, Sir William Dawes and Dr. Blackhall?

THE DUKE OF MARLBOROUGH TO THE DUCHESS OF
MARLBOROUGH.

Brussels, May (6) 19, 1707.

I have so little time to myself that I am glad to begin to write to my dear soul this night, though the post does not go till to-morrow night, and by that I may hope for the happiness of hearing from you.

253* left this place some days before I came, I suppose, being afraid I might ask questions, for I no ways doubt of their having been in France.

We hear from Dunkirk, the ill news of their having brought in there two of our men-of-war, which were convoy to our Portugal fleet, of which they have taken the greatest part.

The misfortune in Spain, and this last accident at sea, makes the French talk very impertinently, but my great hopes are, that the Duke of Savoy will act with vigour. I have but this morning received yours of the 23rd, which should have come with Mr. Bankes, but was sent me by Sir Philip Meadows.

I am extremely obliged to you for the method, you tell me, you have tried with the queen. I hope, in time, you will find the good effects of it, by being enabled to do good, for otherwise, all must go to distraction.

* Possibly Lord and Lady Tyrconnel.

The man that is recommended by 17 (Duke of Newcastle), I have the same opinion of him that you have. I hear from Italy, that Lord Peterborough intends to call upon me in his way to England. I am very glad that Saturday is so near, for I am extremely weary of this place, as I shall be every where, till I have the happiness of being with you.

THE DUKE OF MARLBOROUGH TO THE DUCHESS OF
MARLBOROUGH.

Antwerp, May 12, 1707.

Since my being here, I have heard nothing but the unfortunate battle in Spain,* I will still hope it is not so bad as the French report it. I have not time to write to anybody, but from Bruxelles, by the next post, the Lord Treasurer shall have an account of all I know.

You should let me know where the gentleman is that Lady Tyrconnelt would have made an officer, and what language he speaks, so that I may know what nation to speak to. God knows when I shall have time to write to the children, but kiss them kindly from me.

* The Battle of Almanza.

† Frances Jennings, Sister of the Duchess of Marlborough, married to Richard Talbot, Lord Tyrconnel, a staunch adherent of James II. She was now allowed to return to England, to obtain payment of her Jointure, which had run into arrear.

THE DUKE OF MARLBOROUGH TO THE DUCHESS OF
MARLBOROUGH.

Soignies, May (15) 26, 1707.

Since I left my dear soul, till now, I have had never any time to myself; though I am forced to be much on horseback, yet I have the satisfaction of being some time every day alone in my chamber, and if I could be blessed with your company at that time, it would make amends for the other uneasy part of my life; for my misfortune here is, that unless it be in what concerns the war, I have nobody to whom I can speak without reserve.

The character you have given me of 221 (Duke of Argyle) is but too true, so that I shall be upon my guard as much as possible; but my unhappiness is, that I am forced to converse with great numbers, amongst which there is not one in a hundred of such a temper as I could wish a friend should be.

I have had a very obliging letter from 245*; I do not send it unless you desire it, since the hand is so ill that it would hurt your eyes; by it I believe she is to meet her husband on this side the water. Cadogan, by some negligence, has had his quarters burnt, but I do not yet know what his loss is. The church, and the greatest part of the village, was

* Perhaps it should be 255. *Coxe.*

burnt. The fire burnt the out-houses of my quarters, but my servants had time enough to take out the horses, so that I lost nothing. The French being marched out of their lines, we are this day come to this place; they are in a very strong camp, and though they brag much of being much stronger than we, I believe they will stay in no place where they may be attacked; so that you need not be afraid of a battle, but as we have several great towns to protect, they may give us trouble.

I am heart and soul yours.

THE DUKE OF MARLBOROUGH TO THE DUCHESS OF
MARLBOROUGH.

Beaulieu, May 30, 1707.

Since my last from Soignies, I have been in perpetual motion, for the French have not only drawn out the greatest part of their troops from their garrisons, in hopes of being stronger than we, but they have also abandoned their lines; so that they left us at liberty to attack what town we pleased. But upon my having certain knowledge of their intentions of ravaging Brabant, I have made two very long marches to come to this camp, which has secured this country, and to-morrow I shall march again, in order to be nearer the enemy; we have this morning

the news of the French King having passed the Rhine, which is shameful for the German army. I have written my mind, as to the business of the war, to my Lord Treasurer; so that I shall not trouble you with it. The letter you mention by Dr. Hare, I have not received, nor hear anything of him; if he be resolved to come in the packet boat of Ostend, he may very well be obliged to take his way by Dunkirk. I have a great many things to vex me, I mean here abroad; but none more than what Mr. Travers writes to Cardonel, that they must be obliged, at Woodstock, to turn the workmen off, for want of money to pay them. This gives me a double trouble; for I am sure there must be great want of money, or Lord Treasurer would not let this be, therefore pray do not take notice that I know anything of it; for I am sure he must have many troubles, and I should be very sorry to add any to them.

THE DUKE OF MARLBOROUGH TO THE DUCHESS OF
MARLBOROUGH.

Meldert, June 9, 1707.

I am to thank you for four of your letters, which I have received, by several ways, the day before yesterday; two by the post, one by brigadier Piper, and the other sent me by Mr. Hare. The enclosed

letter of 10 (Lord Rivers) to 38 (Godolphin), is a very extraordinary one ; I am sure I do not desire to have any dispute with him ; but what he says of my naming Lord Arran, is not true, for it was himself that first spoke to me of that lord. Instead of a hardship, I thought I had done him service at that time ; but the wisest thing is, to have to do with as few people as possible. If you are sure that 256 (Mrs. Hill) does speak of business to 42 (the Queen), I should think you might speak to her with some caution, which might do good, for she certainly is grateful, and will mind what you say.

We came to this camp yesterday, and as the enemy, being the strongest, governs our motions, I know not how long we may stay, but my blood is a good deal heated ; I hope it may be for some days. This uneasy way of living makes me, if possible, more confirmed that I can have no happiness till I am at quiet with you, my dearest soul.

THE DUKE OF MARLBOROUGH TO THE DUCHESS OF
MARLBOROUGH.

Meldert, June 9, 1707.

I have had the happiness of yours, dated the 17th and 19th, which gives me an account of 38 (Godolphin), having been with 31 (the Marquis of Kent).

I am entirely of opinion that 31 (Marquis of Kent), if he had or ever shall have it in his power, he would with pleasure hang everybody that we wish well to ; so that I think there ought to be no difficulty in giving him all the mortifications which with justice may be done.

I see, also, by your letter that your are in apprehension of a battle ; it is most certain that the enemy have more squadrons and battalions than we, but ours are stronger and better men, so that for the good of the common cause, I do verily think we ought earnestly to wish for a battle, of which I think the enemy shy ; for though they talk much of being in the plains of Fleurus, they have never yet taken any other but very strong camps, and it is very plain they have no confidence in their foot. On the other side, 110 (the Dutch) will not venture till we can find an advantage ; so that both they and we are expecting what will be done in Italy ; and in the meantime, if they give us an advantage we shall attack them, of which I believe they will be very careful.

It is certain that 46 (the Emperor) does not behave himself as a friend, but we can't resent that but by hurting ourselves. I sent Lord Treasurer, by the last post, a copy of my letter to Comte Piper, for I own that business is much at my heart.* I am

* Something appears to be omitted in the MS.

extremely obliged to you for the concern you have for me, I trust in God He will protect me as He has been pleased hitherto; and I am persuaded of the great disorders and difficulties the King of France has to get money, which will make me be cautious of venturing, but when I shall think we have an advantage; so that I beg you to be at ease, and I hope God will bless us as that we may end our days in quiet. Having writt thus far, I have received yours of the 23rd, and can imagine what 253 (Lady Tyrconnel, for I have neither seen her nor writt to her; and as to what you say concerning 57, you are much in the right, for I never name him when I can avoid it. I less understand what is meant by the great countenance given to Charles's son, he has been two years a Lieutenant Colonel, and had this winter my Lord Argyle put over his head; but I give you too much trouble on this occasion, for I never spoke three words to him in my life. I wish everybody were happy, so that I might be quietly with you.

THE DUKE OF MARLBOROUGH TO THE DUCHESS OF
MARLBOROUGH.

Meldert, June 16, 1707.

I have this day had the happiness of yours of the 30th of May, and am very sorry that the indiscretion

THE DUKE OF MARLBOROUGH TO THE DUCHESS OF
MARLBOROUGH.

Meldert, June 27, 1707.

I had last night the satisfaction of your very kind letter of the 10th, which has given me infinite pleasure, as your kindness will always do; for believe it my dear soul, I can have no lasting happiness but with you.

You may give good words to Mr. Duncombe, but I have so many officers here with me, that will make it impossible for me to do what he desires. You may assure 255 (Mrs. Burnet) that no man living is more desirous of a good peace than 210 (Marlborough). 46 (the Emperor) is wrong in almost everything he does, but what she writes concerning his having correspondence with 43 (King of France) is certainly not so; the people in 110 (Holland) who seem to be favourable to 30 (Lord Peterborough), are of all the worst in that country. I hear by my last letters from Italy, that he is gone to Vienna to solicit troops for King Charles. But his mind changes so often that there is not much weight to be laid upon his motions, nor have I answered any of his letters, not knowing where to send them. I am glad to hear that the Duke of Shrewsbury is easier than the last year; I

do not think he can ever be of much use, but it is much better to have mankind pleased than angry ; for a great many that can do no good, have it *always in their power to vex* and do hurt. What you say concerning the uneasiness between the Queen and my Lord Treasurer, if that continues, destruction must be the consequence, as the circumstances of our affairs are, abroad as well as at home.

I am sure, to the best of my understanding and with the hazard of my life, I shall always endeavour to serve the Queen ; but if they incline more to be governed by the notions of Mr. Harley than those of Mr. Montgomery (Lord Godolphin), I would sooner lose my life than persuade him to continue on, under such circumstances, in the service of the Queen. This is only to yourself, but you may depend upon it, that if ever I be advised with, this will be my opinion.

All that I know concerning Lord Peterborough is, that he would do anything to get the payment of an arrear of about 3000 pounds.

THE DUKE OF MARLBOROUGH TO THE DUCHESS OF
MARLBOROUGH.

Meldert, June 30, 1707.

I have writ to Mr. Travers to desire that Dr. Watkins, Fellow of Magdalen College in Oxford,

might have a buck when he desires it; you know his brother is one of my secretaries, and I could not deny him. If Mr. Travers should be in the county I beg you will give orders for it. Since my last, we have no letters from England, nor any alteration in our affairs here, nor have we any news from Italy, which we are the more impatient for, there being a report of the Duke of Savoy being sick. I have told Mr. De Cardonnel the concern you had for him; he is returned and is pretty well, but I fear he is in a consumption, so that he will not live long. My glasses are come to Bruxelles and I have bespoke the hangings; for one of my greatest pleasures is in doing all that in me lies, that we may as soon as possible enjoy that happy time of being quietly together, which I think of with pleasure, as often as I have my thoughts free to myself.

I have by this post sent a letter from 30 (Lord Peterborough), to Lord Godolphin. His letter to 31 (Marquis of Kent) is much the same, but something softer. My last letters from Hanover assured me the Elector would not accept the command on the Rhine, but by an express I had last night from the Elector Palatine, he assures me the Elector has accepted of that command. I hope it may make things go better in Germany, though I much fear he will find it very difficult for this campaign.

THE DUKE OF MARLBOROUGH TO THE DUCHESS OF
MARLBOROUGH.

Meldert, July 4th, 1707.

If it be not too late I could wish the Queen would take no notice of what Lady Bridgewater has done, though she is certainly in the wrong : but they are honest people, and a young man must not be ruined for a parent's indiscretions. I am obliged to you for your kind expression concerning Woodstock ; it is certainly a pleasure to me when I hear the work goes on, for it is there I must be happy with you. The greatest pleasure I have, when I am alone, is the thinking of this, and flattering myself that we may then so live as neither to anger God nor men, if the latter be reasonable ; but if they are otherways, I shall not much care if you are pleased, and that I do my duty to God ; for ambition and business is what after this war shall be abandoned by me.

I have had this evening the happiness of yours of the 16th and 17th.

THE DUKE OF MARLBOROUGH TO THE DUCHESS OF
MARLBOROUGH.

Meldert, July 7th, 1707.

I have had the pleasure of yours of the 20th, from Windsor, my last letter is an answer to what you say

as to Mr. Egerton, and I am much obliged to you for the pains you have taken with 254 (Mrs. Godfrey). I believe you guess right as to the difficulty she makes, for her husband is selfish and very unreasonable. I do intend to begin the next week to drink the Spa waters for a fortnight ; I remember they did me good two years ago.

As we see by the letters from Paris that they are uneasy at what may be done by the Duke of Savoye and Prince Eugene, we grow very impatient of hearing how far they are advanced. My last letters from Turin, of the date of last month, said they should advance at the end of the month ; if I had received them one hour sooner it might have spared part of this letter ; but I must now add to that subject that I hope the Queen will be pleased to promise Mr. Egerton the first vacant place.

DUCHESS OF MARLBOROUGH TO QUEEN ANNE.

[First part missing, probably of the date of 1707.]

* * * seems to have in the worst men in this kingdom ; but this is certain, that neither Lord Marlborough nor Lord Treasurer differ in what I have so often said, whenever I have had occasion to speak upon these subjects to either of them, and very lately I have some proofs of that by letters from Lord Marlborough, therefore I hope

your majesty will not be so much offended with me as you have lately been, if I believe those things for your good that are thought so, by those that have served you with so much success,—men that have a view of all things and all sorts of people, whereas your Majesty has had the misfortune to be misinformed in general things. Even from twelve years old, you have heard in your father's court, strange names given to men by flatterers in these former reigns, for no reason in the world but that they would not contribute to carry on Popery. That, and many other things too long to repeat in a letter, has given your Majesty very wrong notions; and you are like people that never read but one sort of books—you can't possibly judge, unless you heard all things stated fairly. Besides, everybody in your station has a great disadvantage in conversing freely as others do in the world, and it is not so easy for you to come at truth as those that see with their own eyes all that passes; you must depend upon the information and judgement of others, and I am sorry you have so little opinion of those, that have hitherto led your Majesty into no misfortunes, nor that can have no interest but yours. Much more might be said, but I will not trouble you with another sheet of paper; I will end in begging and praying that you may be freed from the enchantment, which is the only thing I can call it.

DUCHESS OF MARLBOROUGH TO QUEEN ANNE.

[No Date.]

I am glad your Majesty's kindness to my cousin Hill,* has been the occasion of doing a thing that I have thought a great while was reasonable; and though I was not so lucky as to be heard upon that subject no more than upon many others, I hope it will prove for your Majesty's service; and for other solicitations, if I could be so indiscreet as to repeat it, you know by experience how easily you can resist them. But I must own I have not many suitors, and I believe the secret begins to be discovered, especially at court; in a little time I may expect a great deal of ease from it, and I have been for some years so much used to Mrs. Morley's unkind and unjust usage of Mrs. Freeman, that the trouble of it is pretty well over. My greatest concern now is to think of the prejudice it must do Mrs Morley, when the true cause of it is known, which will make her character so very different from that which has always been given by her faithful Freeman. Till I know what way Mrs. Hill is to be presented to you, I do nothing in that matter.

*22. 6. 1707.
Call to
Hill*

Mrs. Hill, the daughter of an eminent Turkey merchant, was a relation of the Duchess, and had by her been rescued from penury, and made a bed-chamber woman, in which situation she betrayed her benefactor. She is better known as Mrs. Masham, a name she obtained by a second marriage.

*22. 6. 1707.
Call to
Hill*

THE DUCHESS OF MARLBOROUGH TO QUEEN ANNE.

Oct. 29, 1707.

I think in all respects this is the best way of answering Mrs. Morley's complaints to Mr. Montgomery ; first, it will be a shorter trouble than if I waited upon you. You will presently see the end of this ; and if I do say any thing I ought not to do, it will appear as a record against me to shame me whenever you please, and I desire it may do so ; for whenever I have found myself in the wrong (to the most inconsiderable person that ever I knew), it has been my nature, and the greatest pleasure I could have, to let them see I was convinced, and to give them all the satisfaction that was in my power ; and if this has been my temper to the meanest servant that I have, how much pain must I feel upon any reproach of that kind in the case of Mr. or Mrs. Morley ; but, indeed, I am not insensible to the least failing to either ; and as I have been faithful to them for these many years, and in their true interest, so I shall be to the last moment of my life, and if this were my last hour, I could safely protest that I did mean only what I said of Mr. Morley as a companion, and not with any disrespectful thought or reflection upon him, to shew what a sort of friendship it was ; and if I had thought or ever heard,

that he had any such inclination, it would have been the last thing that ever I should have touched upon. For in my whole life I never did any thing so ill bred or so foolish as to say a thing only to offend you, without doing you any service, though I have ventured very often to do it, when I hoped it might be of use to you; and I am yet so far from repenting of that, that I think there is nothing in my whole life that I have so much reason to be proud of. This is all that is necessary to say as to the accusation concerning Mr. Morley; but if it were not sufficient, I could say a great deal more, and I think myself more obliged to him than to Mrs. Morley. I remember all his justice and goodness to me in times past. I have a thousand things to thank him for, and no one to complain of; he is still the same (I believe) to me that ever he was, and will always be so, unless Mrs. Morley thinks fit to give him a prejudice to me, which I am sure I shall never deserve; and what I have said formerly of my fears of his being influenced by some† * * * that did not act for his interest, was so plainly for the interest of you both, that I can never be sorry for it; and I heartily wish one you seem to have a better opinion of than me, performs that part, and all others, as well as I have done.

I am sure upon Mr. Morley's subject she has

† The word erased here seems to be *villains*.

made bold to me, though upon others she has been very reserved, which were more reasonable to have spoke of, and after her ungrateful behaviour to me, I can't think I am obliged to do her good offices, though in this perhaps I shall not be believed; and yet to disappoint her of all she aims at, I would not tell you a lie, nor never did, notwithstanding those heavy complaints to Mr. Montgomery upon her subject yesterday, which can proceed from nothing but great partiality, that more or less blinds all people. Those that are not so cannot think it strange that after what I have discovered of that lady, and her manner to me, that I should endeavour to recover your kindness, (which I never made an ill use of) by only telling you the truth, which every body knows to be so, and that Mrs. Morley calls saying perpetually ill things of Mrs. Hill. I beg to have that explained; I never did say that she had taken money, or that it was a crime to have been in a mean service; the last thing being what she could not help, but it was publicly known, and I thought it reasonable to let you know it, before the change gave occasion for more discourse, which, besides the particular mortification it must be to me, perhaps, without much vanity, some might wonder at; and putting all things together, without being quite stupid, I can't but see that she aims at much more than she would have you believe. And, before this thing broke out,

at least to me, she was so passionate, or indiscreet, (I don't know what to call it) as to write to me that Mrs. Morley had never shown her any distinction, notwithstanding she had the honour to be my cousin. This shews she is not so disinterested and so indifferent as she pretends in most things; for I believe every body but herself thought she was distinguished enough in having the honour to serve you. This letter being very extraordinary, I remember I shewed it to Mr. Montgomery, when I had not a dream of what had happened, and I believe it is yet in a heap of letters I kept from the fire. What I said of people's taking money was only as a caution to you, and in these very terms, that I had never sold your favours, when my circumstances were indifferent, and that I had nothing upon earth to desire, but that all you had to give might be disposed of to your honour, and to strengthen the government. I never said Mrs. Hill took money; but said she had acquaintance that every body knew would take money for any thing upon earth; that by experience I knew what the custom of the world was, that money would be offered, and arguments too, whenever it was thought there was credit, to persuade people that it was usual in such cases to take money and no hurt; and one did not know what people might be persuaded to that had an inclination to mend their condition, nor what characters they might give of

people and things, from that temptation, want of knowledge and experience, which very possibly might not turn to the interest or account of Mrs. Morley.

In this letter is summed up all that I ever said with passion or disrespect to Mr. and Mrs. Morley, and a picture of all that has ever passed concerning Mrs. Hill, and something more than I had ever mentioned before; and I am contented that any body that is not partial against me to an extraordinary degree should be judge of it; and for fear you should not do me the justice to shew it to Mr. Montgomery, before I seal it, I will do it. If this be true, I am confident he will clear me of all I have been accused of to him; if it be not, I beg from your justice, as the last favour that I shall ever ask, and with as much earnestness as if it were to save the lives of all that are dear to me, that you will say in what other measure I have been guilty of disrespect, or any of those faults you have accused me of. These are the very words that I have said to you, and if you will reflect, they were expressed with so little passion, that the last time I waited upon you, there were very long spaces on both sides, when it was a profound silence. I never stirred once from behind the screen where I first stood, that I remember, I never in the whole conversation once pulled out my pocket handkerchief till after I had taken my leave.

When at the door you were pleased to give me a mark of your favour, that brought tears into my eyes, and I answered you as Brutus did his friend; and I am sure no woman ever was a better than I have endeavoured to be to Mrs. Morley; and if she had heard me, and her servants of more than twenty years' experience, she would not have been under these difficulties she now is. Their councils, as long as followed, were very successful, and I am sure I have made it the business of my life to serve you well, and to give you the character you would wish to have. Whatever freedom I have taken in speaking to you for your own service, it was when you were alone, and if you had believed those you have so much reason to credit, without letting so many people be witnesses how hard you are to be persuaded to what is generally thought for your interest and security, it would have been more for your service. The consequences of which are plainly to make all those that are true to your interest so uneasy and jealous, that I fear they will never more act as they would have done. As to the other side, the party you are so much inclined to are divided mad men, and for the Prince of Wales, who neither will nor can support you.

MRS. CHANTERELE TO THE DUCHESS OF
MARLBOROUGH.

Jan. 3, 1708.

Madam,

Since I speak unknown, I may venture to speak plainly. I suppose your Grace knows who are become your enemies, from having been raised by your bounty from nothing to be able to play the most treacherous and ungrateful part.

This hint may serve to make your Grace sensible I am no stranger to the proceedings which have so justly incensed you, which, if you are resolved to interrupt the progress of, in your upstart competitor, and will permit me to wait on you, I shall easily convince you that I am able to serve you effectually, and that there is yet remaining the almost extinguished virtues of truth and gratitude. Be pleased by this messenger to send the honor of your commands to, Madam,

Your Grace's most obedient humble servant.

Endorsed by the Duchess.—This letter I found came from Mrs. Chanterele, who I was told was employed by Mrs. Masham, to get acquainted with me, in order to betray me.

THE DUKE OF MARLBOROUGH TO THE DUCHESS OF
MARLBOROUGH.

Hague, Jan 16, 1708.

It is impossible to express what we have suffered by the excessive cold weather in our voyage from Bruxelles to this place. We were five days on the road, which in all other times we used to do in two. Since my coming I have had made a frieze coat, which is very comfortable. The frost is so very hard, that I am afraid this letter will not be able to come to you; however, I would not omit writing, and to let you know that I am better in my health than I have been for some months past, and very impatient for the time of having the happiness of being with you. These people here are very desirous of peace, but by the great preparation France makes, and particularly in this country, it looks as if they were resolved to venture on one campaign more, for which I am very sorry; for one year more in my age is a great deal. I find by yours of the 22nd of the last month that Lord Sunderland was indisposed, and the concern he had for what he thought would give me pleasure. I desire you will return him my thanks, and at the same time assure him that I am not desirous that any thing should be altered that might give disadvantage or trouble to my friends; for I shall esteem myself happy if England be safe, and

that I may have leave of living quiet with you. I shall always wish happiness to the Queen, but I must have some time for myself, which could not be if I had not taken the firm resolution of having no ambition nor desire of favour. We want three posts from England.

DUKE OF SHREWSBURY TO THE DUCHESS OF
MARLBOROUGH.

February 21st, 1707-8.

My head has been so completely filled with what has lately happened at court, that without dissimulation I confess to you I have little thought of myself or any one concern.

I hope everything there has and will end as it ought to do, but it is amazing that any difficulty should be made about it. I own it is hard at first, to chuse one's friendships well, but when they are once fixt upon a merit like the person's you mention, and their worth experienced by a long conversation, it is past my comprehending how that should ever be lessened or shaken, especially by the cunning insinuations of one who, every step she advanced towards it must discover the basest ingratitude

imaginable to a benefactor who has made her what she is.

Confess ingenuously, would not such proceedings make one think a court even worse than I ever represented it to you? I will now speak nothing of my own business, being upon the late troubles out of humour and conceit with the very name; besides having thoughts some time next month to come for two or three months to London, I shall then have an opportunity to discourse with you at large. In the mean time keep this to yourself, and believe me most faithfully your humble servant.

Endorsed by the Duchess herself.—This letter is in the Duke of Shrewsbury's own hand, and proves that at the time he writt it, he thought the Duke of Marlborough and Lord Godolphin would get the better of Abigail, (Hill), though when he found they did not, he assisted her in turning all those out that he had professed so much friendship to, as well as regard for their faithful services. Tho' the Duke of Sh—— desires that this letter might not be seen, yet ——, the person to whom it was writt, gave it to the Duke of Marl——, and it is very probable by the Duke's own direction; though to make it look the more secret, he desires in his letter that they would keep what he writes concealed.

MR. MAYNWARING TO THE DUCHESS OF
MARLBOROUGH.

March or April, 1708.

Since your grace shews an example that never can be enough commended, in submitting to some things that must needs be attended with disagreeable circumstances, purely for the sake of doing good, I think I should not decline any thing that may be of the least service, because perhaps I may not like it.

I find by your Grace's discourse that Mr. Eyres has the first promise of attorney or solicitor, as either shall become vacant; and that at all adventures Mr. King* is to have nothing, being so very disagreeable to the Queen, upon account of what he did in the business of the Admiralty, or rather of Mr. Harley's misrepresentations: and this is the true reason why I give your grace this trouble, though I have said so much before I came to it. For I am fully persuaded that if any other man than Mr. King be made solicitor, the service will be much worse carried on than it would be by Sir. J. Montagu† and Mr.

* Sir Peter King, who was chosen Recorder of London in 1708, was made Lord Chief Justice of the Common Pleas in 1714, and raised to the Peerage by the title of Lord King, Baron Ockham, May 29, 1725.

† Sir James Montagu was the brother of Lord Halifax, and on the expulsion of Harley's faction in 1708, was recommended by Lord Godolphin to the office of Attorney General. But the Queen could not be persuaded to agree to the appointment, and the office remained for some time vacant. He was, however, appointed Attorney-General in Oct. 21, 1708.

Eyres ; and it will be thought intolerable to do such an act of severity without any public advantage. When I saw his Grace last week, and he was speaking of a vacancy that would be among the Barons of the Exchequer, I mentioned a thing which he says he has told my Lord Chancellor of, who likes it ; and that was the making the Recorder a Baron, and getting the city to choose Mr. King Recorder, who in that case would, however, have the obligation to the Court. And this I believe might do very well for the present ; but he says he believes it is impossible to prevail with the Queen to let him be one of her counsel, which signifies very little more than having a place within the bar, though at the same time she is willing to give him the sum of money. If this be so, we are in a sad way, that even money shall be given privately, to prevent the shewing the least open favour to one that has appeared against this hopeful Admiralty.

I beg your Grace's pardon for so long a letter, but I love so well to tell you all I know, that I never need to have any return, besides the real satisfaction that it gives me. And, therefore, I hope you will never think of troubling yourself to answer any letter of mine, unless you have commands for me.

MR. MAYNWARING TO THE DUCHESS OF
MARLBOROUGH.

April 3, 1708.

I think since there is so much paper artillery played against the Government, something of this sort thus plainly expressed may be necessary enough to be dispersed about at this time. I took the hint of it from one of the letters with which your Grace honoured me, wherein you mention the usefulness of raising a cry upon the Jacobites; and if you would now have it done well, you will now at your leisure write down some of your thoughts upon it, and so leave the people to judge what sort of men are safest for them to choose now, all things considered.

I cannot think that some passions will be long lived. But however that may happen, the number of your friends so daily increases, if it be possible, that I am sure you may, even with greater reputation than ever, still hold your employments, in which I hope never to live to see any other person.

Sends an endorsed paper for her approbation or correction.

MR. MAYNWARING TO THE DUCHESS OF
MARLBOROUGH.

Thursday, April 6, 1708.

I am very glad that my hasty scribble of yesterday has given me a pretence of troubling your Grace again to-day, to beg pardon for that, and most humbly to thank you for the honour of your last letter.

I am very unwilling, as your Grace would have me, to believe of that person* from whom you received the dark letter, because it seems to me that such a promise† could not have been obtained, if there had not been an unalterable kindness, and if the favour had been designed to run very high, and that alone could have been sufficient guard against giving any such assurance, as must stand in the way to other views. I am sensible how ridiculous I am, in saying so much about a thing which 'tis impossible I should understand; this I own. If this be a mistake, 'tis one that pleases me; and 'tis common to see that when people are got into such errors as they like, they do not care to be easily undeceived. If any body has one faithful

* Probably the Queen.

† The Queen had promised the Duchess that if the latter resigned, her place should be given to her daughters.

servant that tells nothing but truth, and endeavours only to do good, and to serve right, and afterwards he has a liking to some little servant, that always takes care to say what will please, and to humour the inclination, and to give into every wrong turn of measure : 'tis certain that if this person has not a very extraordinary understanding, the wretched low servant will grow by degrees to be better received, and more hearkened to than the faithful one.

But then this is an interest which, as it is raised only upon humour and fancy, so when that humour is spent, it must sink of course ; when the other, that is grounded upon justice and merit and honour, has foundations that will be always ready to hear it, and to make it revive. And if such a servant has employments, 'tis as certain that she ought never to quit them, as it is unlikely she could ever be removed. She ought to continue, not only because she will prevent a great deal of mischief, but because she will really serve with more honour to herself than ever. For it is certainly a much higher honour to be a courtier in the country's esteem, and beloved by all good men, than to be only a favourite. The latter may have flatterers, but the former is sure to have friends. This is an interest which no change of temper in a sovereign, nor vile treachery in a servant can take away. 'Tis rooted in the hearts of

the people, who will always remember how such an one has served, and how highly the whole country is obliged to such a courtier.

Your Grace is pleased to say it would be ridiculous for you to continue at court, if my Lord Duke were at Woodstock. I wish it were come to that, though if it were so, I can't think it would be advisable to leave the court. For since one party* is certainly inveterate, it will be always necessary to make friends in the other, or at least to keep those that your Grace has made. My Lord Duke's circumstances are much changed, since honest Mr. Harley shewed he was almost a match for him. Before he was in the right to have as little to do with parties as he could, and to temper their violence, and if it had been possible, to try to reconcile them. But since that is now made impracticable, it will not be enough hereafter to make no enemies. Something more of warmth and zeal will be requisite towards those even that will always applaud his actions, and who, I really believe, though they are sometimes a little froward and angry, do yet really love his person.

* * * * *

Endorsed by the Duchess.—A very pretty letter upon the Queen's promising to give my employments to my children.

* The Tory.

MR. MAYNWARING TO THE DUCHESS OF
MARLBOROUGH.

April 9, 1708.

I am afraid I shall lose your Grace's patience, but I hope you won't think of troubling yourself to answer this letter, though I can't help writing it, because there is something in your last that looks as if what I had said had implied, that I thought your Grace had been in the wrong. I am very uneasy under this apprehension, and do assure you, Madam, I am so far from thinking so, that I only wish and pray that your Grace would bear with other people's being in the wrong, and endeavour to set them right again; or, at least, that their being in the wrong may do as little harm as is possible. I have no copies of my letters, and I am afraid I writt them too hastily, and that having nothing directly in view but to tell you my poor opinion, I was not careful enough how it was expressed. I only know I could not have writt so plainly nor so freely to any one else; and if I am ever so unfortunate to say or to do any thing that your Grace does not like, I will never be guilty of repeating it. I can only believe that your Grace never fails in any thing that was essential, because I am entirely convinced that never any sovereign had so true a friend nor so faithful a servant. And for this reason I should never think

matters would go very well if your grace was not at court. And if the elections succeed now, according to men's reasonable hopes, and there be a majority of Whigs, if Lord Somers* be not taken in, and Mr. King too, I believe it will be impossible to keep them together. The latter, notwithstanding his late sallies, has certainly no antipathy to preferment, which appeared very plainly to Mr. Walpole† and me, when we made the lye to him. And if he were engaged, the whimsical Whigs, as he called them, would have no head to govern them; and having generally very indifferent ones of their own, could do no great mischief. Your Grace says that to make kindness return, there must be art and address used, and that you know one that has none. If by that be meant cunning or that part of craft, which Mr. Hobbes very prettily calls crooked wisdom, I believe nobody has so little of it. But if he meant by it all the good parts and qualities that make one agreeable and engaging, I believe in my conscience nobody has so much. And therefore, since your Grace in your letter which I had the honour to see, has said in the rightest manner and the best expressions, all that could be thought of, either to do good or to move shame; if you find no effect from that, I hope you will try an-

* See Coxe's Marlborough for an account of the exertions of the Whig party, seconded in this by Godolphin and Marlborough, to introduce Lord Somers into the Ministry.

† The celebrated Sir Robert Walpole.

other way, which I must own I think cannot fail. And I am persuaded, that whenever your Grace appears, Mrs. Abigail* will lead but an uncomfortable life, and hardly venture to peep abroad. May I hope your presence will turn her into a bat, and that I shall see her come into a room where my Lady Hervey is at play, and set her good ladyship a crying.

Your Grace has mentioned the only consideration that will make people easy with Mr. Churchill; and I should think they might be well enough satisfied to let him alone, if some others were added to the council.

Sir Lambert Blackwell† told me yesterday that he and Mr. Monpesson are likely to carry my Lord President's‡ (Lord Pembroke) town of Wilton, though all his tenants but one, vote for Mr. Gantlett and Nicholas, than whom there will not be two worse men in the house.

I am glad to hear that your Grace will be in town on Monday, and will give Lady T.§ notice of it.

* Mrs. Masham.

† Sir Lambert Blackwell and Charles Monpesson, Esq. gained the election.

‡ Thomas Herbert, Earl of Pembroke and Montgomery. He was president of the Council, the office which the Whigs wished to give to Somers. He was, however, this same year, on the death of Prince George, made Lord High Admiral, and the presidency was then given to Somers.

§ Lady Tyrconnel.

1708.]

THE DUKE AT THE HAGUE.

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*Duchess of Marlborough to Lord of the Hague, dated
St James' April 13. 1708 see 'Duchess's Papers' p. 108*

THE DUKE OF MARLBOROUGH TO THE DUCHESS OF
MARLBOROUGH.

Hague, April 19, 1708.

Since my last I have not had the happiness of any from you, nor do we yet know what answer the French will give by the courier that is by this time returned to M. Rouillee. By the accounts we have from Flanders, the backwardness of the season will occasion our taking the field at a fortnight or three weeks later than the last year, so that as the affairs may turn out here, I am not in despair of having time enough to be with you for a week or ten days, but shall be better able to judge of this, when we shall be fully informed of what the French offer. All that I can assure is, that I have so much mind to come to you, that I shall not value the being twice sick at sea, and the uneasy solicitations I must undergo during the time of my being in England.

THE DUKE OF MARLBOROUGH TO THE DUCHESS OF
MARLBOROUGH.

Hague, April 20, 1708.

Courant being desirous of returning to England, I take this opportunity of writing rather by him than

by the post, and at the same time take the liberty to tell you how uneasy I am in my mind, being convinced by your two letters which I have received since my being here, of your resolution of living with that coldness and indifference for me, which, if it continue, must make me the unhappiest man alive. I know it would be but a trouble to you to have an account of what I do here, but I cannot forbear saying so much by all*.....

THE DUKE OF MARLBOROUGH TO THE DUCHESS OF
MARLBOROUGH.

Hanover, April 27, 1708.

The English post came in this morning, by which I was in hopes to have heard from you, but I had no letters.

I believe I shall not be able to leave this place before Monday, so that I may yet hear from you, for a Sunday night we may have letters: as I thought I should have returned to England, I omitted telling you that I am advised by every body to have the portico, so that I have writt to Vanburgh, to have it; and which I hope you will like, for I should be glad we were always of one mind, which shall always be my endeavour; for I am never so

* Here it breaks off.

happy as when I think you are kind. I have had the head-ache since my being here, but I hope my going into the air will do me good.

I send the two keys for my closet, not knowing but you might have occasion for some of the writings.

THE DUKE OF MARLBOROUGH TO THE DUCHESS OF
MARLBOROUGH.

Hague, April 22, 1708.

I did not write to you by the last packet boat, Courant going at the same time in the yacht, but as the wind is this morning changed, the packet boat may get to England, and the yacht forced back, so that I leave this letter to go by Monday's post; I leave this place this evening, in order to meet Prince Eugene at Hanover next Friday: I shall stay there not above two days, and then return to this place, till when, I shall have no opportunity of writing unless it be at Hanover.

The credit of 256 (Mrs. Masham) occasions a good deal of disagreeable discourse in this country.

MR. MAYNWARING TO THE DUCHESS OF
MARLBOROUGH.

April, 1708.

The goodness your Grace shews to me, and the confidence you repose in me, are much above what I could hope for, or can deserve, that I am at a loss what to say; and will think of making no other return to your last packet, than by obeying your commands, in sincerely telling my poor thoughts upon the letters, and what answer may be made to them. And if I should say any thing madam that you do not like, condemn, as much as you please, the defects of my understanding; but do not suspect the faithfulness of my heart.

The letter* dated March 31, is, in my humble opinion, written very tenderly; and if I be not mightily blinded by expressions that I like so well, I think the conclusion of it has all the appearance of kindness that is possible. And I had a particular satisfaction in seeing that, because it confirmed to me what I have been fully persuaded of, ever since I knew of the promise; and what I have still taken the liberty to mention in my letters to your Grace.

* Probably from the Queen.

The letter of the 5th of April,* whatever else may be said of it, still shews a great deal of regard for your Grace, and great unwillingness to say any thing that may shock you : and some of the protestations in it are very humble and condescending ; and especially considering how home your Grace had touched upon the tender point, in your letter of the 4th of April. Yet I do not wonder that the expression (Masham and me) made you sick, for it is very nauseous. King James the First's usual expression, Steenie and I, meaning the Duke of Buckingham and himself, was always laughed at very justly, notwithstanding the quality and greatness of that Duke.

However, since it is so absolutely necessary that your Grace should return to court, I hope you will do it with the best air you can ; and therefore casting a veil upon all those parts of the letter that are liable to be remarked upon, you may extremely well take the occasion of coming back in good humour ; from the favour of not demanding the letters again, from the fresh assurance of the promise to your family, and several other kind expressions. These I beg might be the subjects of your letter : and since your Grace has observed that the other style is softened, you would alter yours. When a matter can't be carried as one would wish, the next thing is

* From the Queen.

to try to carry it as it will go. And I am fully persuaded from several touches in these letters, and by the evasive answers that are made about Mrs. Masham going to prayers, and about the enquiry after Greg's* confession, and by the not mentioning Mr. Harley at all, though such fair occasions were given for it; that this mischief lies so very deep that it is necessary for all hands to join to prevent the ill consequences of it. And that which I am now convinced cannot be done, by any means at this time, may certainly be brought about by management and address. Though your Grace seems to think that kindness once gone never returns, I believe several instances might be given to the contrary; and I think it is plain, in the present case, that there is still a great unwillingness to break quite with your Grace, notwithstanding the present frenzy; which I the more readily believe, because I cannot comprehend that ever anybody was so mad to fall out with you willingly. Therefore for God's sake, madam, come to court again, and be assured that, as nothing will so much dark the hopes of your enemies, nothing will so please or revive your friends, who complain, though it is very gently, of your going away.

* Greg, who was employed under Harley, was detected carrying on a treasonable correspondence with France, which threw much discredit on Harley, and caused his expulsion from the Ministry.

An inclination that is shameful, and that must be concealed and denied, grows so uneasy by degrees, that it wears itself away; and it ought rather to be a sport than an uneasiness to anybody. A good ridicule has often gone a good way in doing a business; and this I am sure is of such a kind, that it needs only to be mentioned to make it ridiculous. And I think the ill effects of it would be immediately prevented, in a great measure, if my Lord Somers could be brought in; for my Lord Treasurer and he, and the two secretaries, so perfectly agreeing, what great feats could Mr. Harley do with his woman, that he boasts he will play against anybody. I am sure if they play well at anything, it must be some cheating game. If your Grace, with the ministers, and all the most considerable men in England, cannot put an end to the senseless farce of *Harlequin and Abigail**; if this nation be for its sins, under such a fatality, I think it is no great matter what becomes of it; nor if anybody be ever consulted or conversed with upon publick matters, but the able counsellor that your Grace says I should laugh to hear of. I most humbly beg pardon for the liberty I have taken, which I should never forgive myself, but that I think your Grace's commands required it. I have returned all the papers just as

* "See *Ballad*."—*Cowc.*

I received them, that your Grace may be sure I make no mistake.

I am very glad that there is nothing to be imparted to my Lord Duke upon the business of my Lord Somers, because I will endeavour to convince some people of that; though your Grace may be sure I will not mention my authority for it. I should think it might be possible, considering the vast advantages that the President (Lord Pembroke) enjoys under the government, to make himself desire to resign his place in the council, since it is so much for Her Majesty's service; and then all the pretence of hardships will cease of course.

Wednesday Morning, 10 o'Clock.

Endorsed by the Duchess.—"A letter when the Queen made such evasive answers to general things I had written to her concerning Mr. Greg's confession and Mr. Harley.—1708."

THE DUKE OF MARLBOROUGH TO THE DUCHESS OF
MARLBOROUGH.

Hague, May 6th, 1708.

As I am going from hence to-morrow morning I leave this letter for Tuesday's post. I like so well the advice to the electors that I have read it twice; though it is all very good, yet I think the latter part

is that which will do most good. The pad of Colonel Southwell's I wish may be to your mind, for I think riding will do you a great deal of good. I wish you happiness with all my heart, and should be glad to part with any thing I have in this world with pleasure, if I might think it gave you ease. My claret is bought to serve the several tables, so I believe they will find better to serve you at Rotterdam, which Will. Lovegrove will do; but I very much fear his finding an opportunity of sending it. I am of your mind, and not that of Mr. Bertie's, for Mrs. Masham will not have that preferment since it must prove their ruin; but I am afraid they will have the power of doing all the mischief that is possible to the Queen. There is care taken by letters written from England, to persuade those people that the Queen has no kindness for you, Lord Treasurer, and myself; I take this to be a politique of Harley for the inducing of those people to a peace, which God knows they are but too much inclined.

I am to thank you for your letter which I received this morning. I should be glad to have your second letter of the Queen's, that I might be the better able to judge of that fatal correspondence with 199 (Harley), which will prove her ruin. I must own to you that I am of the same opinion with your friends, that you can't oblige Mrs. Masham more than by being at a distance with 239 (the Queen).

However, I value your quiet and happiness so much, and being almost persuaded that it is next to impossible to change the inclinations of the Queen, I would not have you constrain yourself in any thing. I find by yours that some friends of mine are angry at my not returning ; it is most certain if I had not gone to Hanover we should have begun this campaign without any project. God knows how this will succeed which we have agreed on ; but this pleasure we have, that it gives uneasiness in France. Besides this, I own to you that if I had come, I should not have been able to have done any good with the Queen ; for till they suffer by the unreasonable advice of Mrs. Masham and Harley it will not be in my power to do her any service ; so that unless you will have it otherwise, it is my intention to use endeavours to make it necessary for my staying abroad this next winter.

The account of the behaviour of 182 (General Churchill) is unaccountable, I shall be sure to write to him my mind very freely. My Lord Chancellor did tell me that he had given directions for the putting Mr. Gapp out of the Commission of the Peace, if it should be forgot. I beg he may be spoke to, to do it ; for should they* be so ungrateful as not to choose my brother it will vex me ; so that I

* At St. Albans.

beg you will not give the thoughts of it over, but spend no money, and oblige my brother to go down three or four days before the election. You are unjust in thinking that I am not concerned when you omit writing; for when they * are kind, they give me more pleasure than all other things in this world can do.

Mr. De Cardonnel thinks your letters will be taken more care of by Mr. Tylson than by Mr. Jones, he having given him a particular charge.

THE DUKE OF MARLBOROUGH TO THE DUCHESS OF
MARLBOROUGH.

May the 8th, 1708.

I have received this morning, on the road, yours of the 22d by Dasell, and yours of the 22d by the post. I have only time to thank you for them, and if I have any opportunity you shall be sure to hear from me by the next post from Gant, for I shall come time enough to Bruxelles. You will excuse the shortness of this, since by the same post you will receive one much longer.

* Her letters.

THE DUKE OF MARLBOROUGH TO THE DUCHESS OF
MARLBOROUGH.

Brussels, May 14th, 1708.

Since my arrival here I have had yours of the 27th of last month, and am very sensible of the indiscreet behaviour of 182 (Geo. Churchill). I know not what effect it may have : I have writ my mind very freely to him. As to what you say of the Garter, I think it should not be given till the Queen is sensible of the shame it would be to let so worthless a creature as 40 (Marquis of Kent) have it, so much as he may expect it. Not only this but every thing I hear, puts me very much out of heart, that I expect nothing but confusion. If my letter to the Queen has no effect, I hope both Lord Treasurer and yourself will be convinced that I have no credit, and will accordingly take your measures. We are in so great want of rain, that I shall be forced to delay the meeting of the army four or five days ; besides, the French seem to change their resolutions every day, so that I believe their taking the field will depend on our motions. I went yesterday to wait upon Lady Tyrconnel, who I think is grown very old, and her hoarseness much worse than when I saw her last. I have been to see the hangings for your apartment and mine ; as much as are done of them, I think

are very fine ; I shall not send them over until the winter, unless you desire them. I should be glad at your leisure you would be providing every thing that may be necessary for furnishing those two apartments ; and that you would direct Vanburgh to finish the breaks between the windows in the great cabinet with looking glass, for I am resolved to furnish the room with the finest pictures I can get.

I shall be impatient for Dr. Hare, since you have writ by him.

THE DUKE OF MARLBOROUGH TO THE DUCHESS OF
MARLBOROUGH.

Brussels, May 17th, 1708.

I have this morning had the happiness of your two letters of the 30th. The true reason of my writing for Lord Orkney was that I promised his Lady. I am much obliged to you for your expressions on this occasion, and I do in return assure you that I would venture every thing to make you happy. What you say concerning 182 (G. Churchill) is very reasonable, but there is no avoiding nature ; I can say nothing in his defence. Though I have many melancholy thoughts, I can't but hope we shall

have some time at Blenheim ; so that if you have not already writ to Lord Manchester* I should be glad if you would, that he might choose some velvets and damasks, and send them home by some of the men-of-war this winter.

I was yesterday a long while with Lady Tyrconnel, who complains very much of the non-payment of their rents ; by what they say I am afraid they are very unjustly dealt with. By what you tell me of my brother George not going to St. Albans, I suppose his name will not be made use of, so that I shall not know who is for or against me. I think the best thing I can do in that, as in most things, is to meddle as little as possible. Since my last we have had a good deal of rain, and now very fine weather ; so that I intend the army shall begin to encamp on Monday next. I am glad you think that Mrs. Masham does not meddle with business, for I am of opinion that it will be much easier struggling with 182 (Geo. Churchill) than with her. I pray God that I may have it in my power to act so this summer that we may have a peace, otherwise I see nothing but confusion. I hope before my next to have yours by Dr. Hare.

* Charles Montague, 4th Earl of Manchester, one of the most distinguished and zealous promoters of the Revolution. In 1707, he was sent as Ambassador Extraordinary to the Court of Vienna.

THE DUKE OF MARLBOROUGH TO THE DUCHESS OF
MARLBOROUGH.

May 21, 1708.

Since my last Dr. Hare has given me yours of the 29th. I write this by C. H. Harrison rather than by the post, he going in the same packet boat, and promises to be at London as soon as the letters. I am very sensible of the melancholy prospect we have for the next winter. I am impatient to hear of the success my letter to Mrs. Morley may have had concerning 5 (Lord Somers), if he be taken in, I shall then hope that the Queen will comply in every other reasonable thing; but if they continue obstinate in that, I am of the opinion of Lord Treasurer, that any thing else will be but of little use; for if the body of men that must serve be divided, how can it be other than confusion? I begin to encamp the troops this day, and by the 25th shall have them all together; but as the French have as yet sent no troops by the Moselle, I must have for some time patience, they being so strong, in hopes that as soon as Prince Eugene begins to act, they will be obliged to send some of their troops from hence. I write this that you may see the difficulties I meet with; but as our troops are good, and as our present circumstances require action, I hope God will bless us

with success this campaign, or else the prospect will be as melancholy here as that in England.

I hope in ten days to hear of Prince Eugene's being in motion, and then I shall be the better able to give an account of our hopes in this country. I send the enclosed only for you to read and burn it. You know I have no good opinion of the author, so that I shall give no answer to his letter, but I am afraid he is in the right of what he writes.

THE DUKE OF MARLBOROUGH TO THE DUCHESS OF
MARLBOROUGH.

May 24, 1708.

I have had the pleasure of your very kind letter of the 4th, and it has been a pleasure to me that you approve of my letter to the Queen: if it has the effect I wish, it would encourage me to hope that the Queen's business might go on greatly this next winter, without which we can never get out of this war with honour and safety.

You are so good as to say you will never write to me of politics that may be disagreeable to me, if I desire it.

You know in friendship and love there must be no constraint, so that I am desirous of knowing

what your heart thinks, and must beg of you the justice to believe that I am very much concerned when you are uneasy. When I took leave of Lady Tyrconnel, she told me that her jointure in Ireland was in such disorder, that there was an absolute necessity for her going for two or three months for the better settling of it. As the climate of Ireland will not permit her being there in the winter, she should begin her journey about ten days hence ; she said that she did not intend to go to London, but hoped she might have the pleasure of seeing you at St. Albans. I have offered her all that might be in my power to make her journey to Holland and England easy. As also, that if she cared to stay at St. Albans either at her going or return, you would offer it her with good heart. You will find her face a good deal changed, but in the discourse I have had with her, she seems to be very reasonable and kind.

I have this morning received yours by Lt. General Withers, as also that of the 7th, by the post. The copies of the several letters you have sent me, I shall not have leisure to read till to-morrow when I go to the army ; for in this place, I have very little time to myself.

You will see the two enclosed letters from Mrs. Morley, both which were writ since she received mine ; I desire that nobody may see them

but Mr. Montgomery; for I believe Lord Treasurer and you are of opinion with me, that the Queen should not know that her letters are sent to anybody. If I receive any other, you shall be sure to have it, and you will keep them till my return. You may assure Lord Treasurer, that on all occasions I have to write to the Queen, I shall follow the directions he has given in his letter by Lt. General Withers, though I must own to you that I am thoroughly convinced, that until the Queen has suffered for the obstinate opinion she is now in, that neither you, nor Lord Treasurer, or myself, will be able to prevail, though never so reasonable: but when the Queen shall be sensible of her being ill advised, she will then readily agree to all that may be advised by Lord Treasurer, myself, and you. I pray God it may not be then too late! Whatever happens, if you are kind, I will flatter myself with enjoying some happy years at Blenheim. I am sorry for the death of Mr. Botha, and am glad that you are going thither, so that the finishing of the outside may be to your mind.

THE DUKE OF MARLBOROUGH TO THE DUCHESS OF
MARLBOROUGH.

May 31, 1708.

We have so much rain and cold weather, that I am writing by a fire ; I hope you have better in England. We comfort ourselves in believing the French suffer more than we, they being encamped in lower ground than we are. I had a letter yesterday from your sister Lady Tyrconnel, in which she tells me she leaves Brussels in two or three days, and that her stay in Holland will be no longer than by going by the first safe opportunity, so that you will hear very quickly from her. I desire you would know of Lord Sunderland, as from me, if the Duke of Hamilton pretends to be chosen, and by what party ; for I am sometimes told such extravagancies as are very hard to believe. I have this morning had the happiness of yours of the 4th, and at the same time the enclosed from Mrs. Morley, which I send, it being an answer to my letter ; but I beg that she, nor nobody but Mr. Montgomery, may know that I send it : you will be pleased to give the same caution to him.

I have no time to say more, but that I am with all my heart yours.

THE DUKE OF MARLBOROUGH TO THE DUCHESS OF
MARLBOROUGH.

Perbanck, June 4, 1708.

Since my last I have had the happiness of yours by Captain Coot, and you may be sure henceforward, whenever I write by an officer, you shall not fail of having a letter by the post, for doing what you like, and your thinking kindly of mee, is what will make me most happy. Your desire of my following Lord Treasurer's advice is very kind, and you may be sure as long as I think you so, I shall be very desirous of living. I do not say this to flatter you, nor am I at an age of making fond expressions ; but upon my word, when you are out of humour and are dissatisfied with me, I had rather die than live : so, on the contrary, when you are kind, I court of all things a quiet life with you. What we hear from France and the language of the princes in their army, I think are very different with their notions, for their last march makes me begin to think that their intentions are not to venture a battle ; whatever happens, my dearest soul may be assured, I shall be careful in doing as far as the service will allow what she desires. You know my mind in a former letter as to the invitation, and what you advise as to the alarming 42 (the Queen) by letting them know it. Mr. Montgomery may inform you that he gave me

an account by this post that he had read a letter of 39 (Duke of Marlborough) to 42, on that subject, and that he did not observe that they were much concerned. I am entirely of your opinion that this last mark of favour to 220* might have been spared; but I believe it must be thought by 86 (the lords) that 239 (the Queen) has the power of doing it, so that in prudence 89 (the Whigs) should not attempt what can't be approved. I know not what character you have had of 52 (the Electoral Prince), but, in my opinion, he is far from being the worst; but in a few months I shall be able to give you a better account of him.

THE DUKE OF MARLBOROUGH TO THE DUCHESS OF
MARLBOROUGH.

Bruxelles, June 7, 1708.

I find by yours of the 17th, that Mrs. Masham does not think it worth while to keep any measures with me (39) and these I love; I can't help flattering myself that if it were possible to make (the Queen) 42, sensible of their malice, she would not suffer it; but I am afraid it is very difficult to persuade her to see any thing which 256 (Mrs. Masham)

* 220 cannot be the Queen, as it is decyphered in the Duchess's hand in the original.—*Coxe*.

would not have her believe, so that patience and 81 (peace) must be the cure: my real intentions are to be as quiet as is possible, I do not mean by that, to quit my employment; but to serve my Queen and country to the best of my understanding, without being either minister or favourite. We have now the coldest weather and hardest frosts I ever knew for so little time, which will make my journey to the Hague very troublesome.

I am, with all my heart, &c.

Endorsed by the Duchess.—Lord Marlborough's letter to me against Mrs. Masham.

THE DUKE OF MARLBOROUGH TO THE DUCHESS OF
MARLBOROUGH.

June 25, 1708.

The disappointments that Prince Eugene has met with in getting his army together, and which are not yet over, made me resolve to take the waters of Spaa, this camp being very quiet. But the weather is so very wet and cold, that I have not taken them this morning, but as soon as we have a little sunshine I shall take them; for by the news I have from the Moselle, I am afraid I shall continue ten days longer in this camp. You will know by the public news that the Prince Electoral of Hanover came to the army on Friday last.

I have had the happiness of yours of the 8th. The declaration made by the Queen to 148 is very surprising. What you write of 11 (the Duke of Devonshire) is, I believe, very true, for I had a letter from him, by which I could see he was dissatisfied with the Queen. He is a very honest man, and has had opportunities to know the pains Lord Treasurer and myself have taken with the Queen to no purpose, so I dare say he will do justice to us upon all occasions, for as much that, as I can observe, he governs himself by reason.

I wish I could say so of all our acquaintance. You are so kind as to be in pain at what may happen when Prince Eugene comes. Put your trust in God, as I do, and be assured that I think I can't be unhappy as long as you are kind.

THE DUKE OF MARLBOROUGH TO THE DUCHESS OF
MARLBOROUGH.

Terbank, July 1, 1708.

Yours of the tenth came from St. Albans, when my last letters were sealed, so that I could not then thank you for them: I hope to have another letter from you before to-morrow night's post. I am glad the windows you have made in the drawing-room at

St. Albans are so well done, as to please you, my heart being set on having some little quiet at Woodstock, if possible, I shall not be fond of doing any thing any where else, but what is of necessity. It is most certain that Mr. Gapp should not have been left with the power of justice in the town; I believe it proceeded from the ignorance of Lord Essex, for I believe that depends upon him. In my opinion what you write of Vanburgh is very right, and I should think that any reasonable man would be satisfied, if you could find a proper opportunity of letting him know them, for besides the reasons you give against a pension, it is more for his interest to have patience till something happens which may be lasting. You desire to know which is best fifty years or three lives; I should think the term of years to be much the best, but those things are good or bad, according to your own thoughts, so that you are the properest judge. Besides, you know I have no great opinion of this project, for I am very confident in that time you will be sensible that this building will cost you much more money than the thing is worth, for you may build a better apartment than you now have, but you never will have so many conveniences as you have in your lodgings, and you may depend upon it that it will cost you double the money of their first estimate.

It is not a proper place for a great house, and I am sure when you have built a little one, you will not like it, so that if you have not set your heart upon it, I should advise you would think well of it, for it is certainly more advisable to buy a house than to build one.

THE DUKE OF MARLBOROUGH TO THE DUCHESS OF
MARLBOROUGH.

July 9, 1708.

Colonel Sutton being come I have three of your letters to answer, but the treachery of Gand,* and the perpetual marching I have had has made me so very uneasy, that I have slept very little these three last nights, so that I am so hot that I must beg of you not to answer yours till the next post. We are to continue our march this night in hopes of gaining a camp which may be of use to us, for I can't be at ease until I regain Gand or make the enemy pay dear for it.

I am, with all my heart and soul, yours.

* The surprize of Ghent by the French, and the treachery of the townspeople, was one of the precursors of the battle of Oudenarde.

MR. MAYNWARING TO THE DUCHESS OF
MARLBOROUGH.*

Wednesday Morning.

The letters of philosophy which I was to have the honour of sending to your Grace, are, I think, out of season since our last victory, which makes it more reasonable for every body to be more merry than wise. Therefore I will beg to defer them till some other time, though I hope your Grace will never need having recourse to philosophy to bear any more ill accidents or misfortunes ; but that the good effects of that joy which I wish you with all my soul upon this occasion, will be continued to you whilst you live. And indeed there is all the reason in the world to believe, that every thing will go according to your wishes both abroad and at home after this great success. Though it be the best news that ever came to England, I cannot help having the vanity to say I was not surprised at, but did expect it. For having heard that the Dutch had given the Duke of Marlborough the power he wanted before engaging of the enemy, if he should think fit, I never doubted but the honour of the field would be ours this year, and that the end of

* "Written after the battle of Oudenarde, gained July 11. O. S. 1708. A very sensible letter."—*Archdeacon Coxe*.

their late famous march would be just what it proved, the surprising a town or two, and the loss of their army. And I hope whatever they have to do this year, their fate will be still the same, to serve upon towns, and lose their troops--there is one thing which must be a particular satisfaction to your Grace at this time, which is, that in all likelihood the danger of this campaign is already over, and that the General will have little else to do than to give orders, which his officers are sure to execute with success. And if I may be allowed to say so, there is no consequence of this battle I think of with more pleasure, than that it must in all reason have delivered your Grace from the uneasiness and apprehensions* which I saw you under, before it happened. Every post that comes now will be loaded with good news, and whatever way one looks, after this defeat, the storm is blown over, and some ray of good fortune seems to shine out. It is said from Ostend already, that the Princes of France are fled to Dunkirk. It is not very material if this be so or not, because 'tis certain something like it will happen very soon, and that never people were more weary of one another, than they and the Duke of Vendome are at this time.

I think the Duke of Marlborough has now beaten

* She was much alarmed for the Duke's safety.

all the Generals of France, except Marshal Villars, which puts me in mind of what the Duke of Buckingham said at Marybone, (whose sayings are always good on these occasions) that the King of France was the most unfortunate man alive, for though he was certainly the wisest Prince that ever reigned, his officers were all the greatest blockheads in the world. And that this last design which he had against these towns in Flanders was so great and so right, that it was impossible he could have miscarried, if Vendome had not been a natural fool. Since that King wants men of parts, I believe your Grace would be content that he should be supplied with some of his friends from hence ; and if he has occasion for a wit, where can he have a better than his Grace of Bucks? though his last saying was only a touch of his malice, for it was to shew his audience that our army was so ill conducted, that nothing would have saved us, but having to do with a changeling ; by which it is certain he is none ; for I think all things considered, he never said a more impudent thing in his life.

Your Grace has now all the reason in the world to be very cheerful and happy, to entertain your friends and to despise your enemies ; and because I know you have a great eye to home affairs, I can't help telling you my poor thoughts that this battle has for ever fixed the party you wish well to. Nor

can I believe that the Duke of Marlborough, who has done so much for the cause of liberty, will endeavour to weaken those* that support it here. And if he pleases to put himself at the head of them, he will certainly be as successful at home, as he is at the head of his army. No envy or faction can reach a man that has gained three such battles;† of which our soldiers here say the last is the most extraordinary; because the enemy were attacked in their march, which shews more the abilities of a General, than forcing a camp. And if he brings home a peace next winter, which I think he cannot fail of, as he will have done more service to the nation, than any subject ever did in any reign, it will be as impossible for his enemies to hurt him, as for the wind to blow down Mr. Vanburgh's thick walls.

Endorsed by the Duchess.—A very pretty letter upon a victory of my Lord M.

* The Whigs.

† Blenheim, Ramilies, and Oudenarde.

MR. MAYNWARING TO THE DUCHESS OF
MARLBOROUGH.*

Wednesday Morning.

I trouble your Grace with this letter to tell you that Lord Sunderland came to me last night at my lodgings and said he wanted to speak with me, and to explain some things which he believed he could do as well as his Grace of Somerset ; and he seemed to be in such a good temper that I hope your Grace may put him in a better. I believe the reason he spoke to me was, that I had desired Mr. Hopkins to take some opportunity of representing how wrong it would be in those lords to divide their own friends, and how particularly wrong and indecent it was in him to express upon all occasions such hard thoughts of the Duke of Marlborough, and not to wait at least till his return, to see what he would do then : to tell him also that, supposing the ministers had been in the wrong, it was hard to conclude from thence that they would never be in the right ; especially since they gave every sign of amendment, and

* "Very curious : in June or July, 1708, will help to explain Lord S's letter to the D. of N——e. Conversation with Lord Sunderland, endeavours to remove his discontent against the D. of M., and shews him his unreasonableness ; exhorts him not to let the Whigs be divided and join the Tories ; that Lord Somers must come in if the Whigs be unanimous ; seems to know that the Duchess herself must have been displeased with her Whig friends."—*Cove.*

indeed had no way to subsist now but by being in the right; and that all politicians that ever I heard of before these lords used always to look forwards; but that their thoughts seemed still to be employed in remembering things that they had disliked or taken ill, without contriving how to mend, or to make the best of any thing, which I thought was not a wise thing that could be done in this world, where there is not much perfection to be found (but in your Grace); with a great deal more of such wise discourse which I won't trouble your Grace with. And I told him he might use my name to his Lord (Somers), if he pleased; for since he could not doubt but that I wished him and his friends well, he could not reasonably take any thing amiss from me. And indeed I do believe, in one respect, I may better take the liberty of speaking to them freely than any body else, because I have no kind of self-interest in it: for if I may be allowed to hear music with your Grace easily, and without restraint, I am at the height of my ambition, which I am afraid can be said of few others, not even of themselves. I intend to wait on Lord P. [resident] in a day or two, and will say all this and more to him, for indeed they seem to me to be going quite the wrong way; for if their friends hold together, they will always be at the head of them, my Lord Somers will be much greater than an office can make him, and not only

the ministers but the Queen must comply with what they think reasonable. But if they break their party, I will venture to say they can only be the heads of the worst and least part of it ; for the numbers will follow the power : besides that the ablest men in the House of Commons are already engaged that way ; and besides this, they would make a most scandalous figure in dividing with all tackers and enemies to the government that they have so long called rogues. Now I leave it to your Grace to determine whether it be not better for them to pass over some disappointments, and wait the success of next parliament, which, if it agrees, must necessarily carry them in half a session into all they can desire, than by unreasonably falling out, to make Mr. Smith and Lord Coningsby, &c., great men among the Whigs, who, if they be kept together, will never consider them at all, but will naturally fall under their old rulers. Lord Somers's being employed now cannot be of vast consequence, further than to satisfy their friends, as they call it, and that may be just as well done without it, if they will please to declare themselves satisfied. And he is as sure to be in an office before Christmas this way as Mr. Harley will be sure never to have one whilst he lives.*

I beg your Grace's pardon for this tedious letter, and give you a thousand thanks for the honour of

* False prophecy.—*Coxe*.

your letter yesterday, though you were pleased to say at the end of it you believed it was half nonsense. As far as I am capable of judging, I never saw more good sense (if so much) in so little compass, which I would not say, if I did not hope you knew me now too well to believe that I would either flatter or compliment; and I can safely swear that I never did it yet to your Grace: and it is too late to begin now, since I have already told you very sincerely all my thoughts, and have firmly resolved that I will always do so till I die.

I wish your Grace may return my Lady Fitz-Harding's visit to-night.

MR. MAYNWARING TO THE DUCHESS OF
MARLBOROUGH.

July, 1708. Tuesday one o'clock.

When I had the honour to receive your Grace's letter at this morning I was just going to write something to you, which, according to custom, I had forgot to say yesterday. Though the reason of it then was my going away sooner than I designed, upon Mr. Boyle's coming in, who I thought came or was sent to shew you his letters, which I knew he would not do before me, though they had nothing

but ordinary news. I have read Mr. Van's* letter, and can only say I am sorry for him, because I believe he is unhappy through his own folly, and I can see no reasonable way to help him. What I mean by his folly, is his building the play-house, which certainly cost him a great deal more than was subscribed; and his troubles arise from the workmen that built it, and the tradesmen that furnished the cloaths, &c., for the actors. But I am now in your Grace's service (in which I will die). I cannot advise you to do any thing for him out of your own estate, from which I may hope for a subsistence myself after I am grown old and good for nothing, though for the last reason I am afraid I might pretend to it already. Your Grace never judged righter than when you thought he who spoke to you so, would not take much pains to set the ministers right, which I am sure I do not say so out of the least envy or ill-will (for I do not think or fear that he will ever be above me in your business); but that your Grace, who has already what St. Paul wishes his friends, a right understanding in all things, may have the same of all persons. You are as much in the right in thinking it will be too late to have matters well ordered after the parliament sits, because schemes will be formed, and promises made, which it will be difficult to recede from: and it is amazing

* Vanburgh.

that a man in such a post should say he never saw a worse prospect at home, when if he can shew that he ever made one step to mend it, I will be contented to be hanged. At the same time there never was so plain and easy a game for ministers to play in the world. They have a certain majority in both houses of men that are firm to the government, that have served them effectually when they were in great need of their service; that could not hurt them if they would, because that would be dividing their party, in which the ministers have many real friends. And yet they will not put themselves at the head of this party, in which they may be safe and easy, which can never distrust them in the profession of the Queen's favour, and which certainly would assist them to remove Abigail and all the rest that make their administration so difficult and unpleasant; and all this out of a little narrow principle of being independent of a party, which in this case is really being a slave without friends: and out of a thoughtless compliance to the insinuations and flatterings of three or four little men, who are so far in the right for themselves in what they advise, that they would indeed be very little considered if the party were entire. I have written out one sheet before I am yet come to what I thought to tell your Grace yesterday:—I was in the morning with Lord Wharton to ask him about what you desired to know

of Mr. Fielding,* who said he had just before had a long conference with the Duke of Somerset, which I will make as short as I can. His Grace, with the air of a great minister, told him what endeavours had been made to bring in Lord Somers, which had proved ineffectual; but that it was not out of any aversion which the Queen had to the party in general, but something that was personal to that Lord, upon account of his having disoblged the Prince; that if one Whig could not be received, he had reason to think another might; that nobody could have greater talents and better pretensions to any employment than his Lordship, and that he might command his service and good offices with the Queen, for whatever could be acceptable to him. To which my Lord answered, after some preambles about his own unworthiness and insufficiency, that he thought making distinctions among men of the same principles and interest was not the way to do the nation's business; that if he had ever been of any service, it was chiefly owing to the assistance of those friends, from whom he would never divide, nor could do it without making himself quite inconsiderable; that he thought it would be much more for the service and honour of his Grace and the ministers to put themselves at the head of the whole party, which

* "Wharton refuses to act separately from Somers."—*Coxe*.

would make them strong, and carry them through all their present difficulties; that to think of dividing them again would only increase their troubles of last year; that he thought it would have been much more for the service of the court to have consulted with the whole body of the Whigs that are here about so important a point as the choice of a speaker, than only with Mr. Smith, whose opinion no man valued, and Mr. Compton, who he believed was of Mr. Harley's (party); * that if his Grace would please to tell my Lord Treasurer what he said, and they two would please to make use of his service to unite them to the body of the Whigs, he would take all the pains in it that was possible, and would answer that it should be done effectually, and to their liking. And this my Lord said he repeated to me to see if I could in any way be instrumental to it. I told him again, and desired him to believe me, that I never did speak to any body but your Grace about such matters, but that I would do so if he pleased. He said with all his heart; but I must take care that the Duke of Somerset did not hear of it again in such a way as to take any thing ill of him. I said your Grace knew how to manage such a secret better than any one alive. He said, he believed so too, and was easy upon that point. And

* "It seems as if part of the Whigs stuck by Godolphin."—*Coxe.*

now I am going to this great man to know the particulars of his seeing Mr. St. John with the Pr. [ince] and to give him a hint, if I can, about his courtesy to Abigail, and when I come back I will end this sad tedious letter.

I have seen his Grace, who says he has more than once seen Mr. St. John with the Pr. [ince] lately, but believes that there was still the servant in waiting in some part of the room.

*See 1000 p. 112. The Earl of Llandudno
3-10 Aug 1708 see "Duchess Sarah" pp 163 164*

THE DUKE OF MARLBOROUGH TO THE DUCHESS OF
MARLBOROUGH.

September, 7th, 1708.

I had the pleasure of yours of the 20th yesterday, when I was at the seige (of Lisle) which does not go on so fast as could be wished; but this night the counterscarp is to be attacked, which we fear will cost a good many men. I have this morning sent 2000 men to help them in their attack, and that I may be the better able to help them in the carrying on of the seige with vigour; we began yesterday to intrench ourselves, which work I hope will be finished by to-morrow; after which I think the French will have no mind to attack us, though they will have double our numbers, now that I have sent all the troops of Prince Eugene's Army back to

the siege, as also 2000 of our men. The French army and we are about two English miles distance from each other. I do not think they will come nearer, but endeavour all they can to prevent provisions coming to us. I shall send by Mr. Cragg's son a letter I have received from 44 (King Charles), which must be a secret. You will see by it that he gives assurances to 39 (Marlborough) that he shall have for my life, what 253 (Lady Tyrconnel) was so desirous 210 (Marlborough) should have*; no doubt this is a great expression of 44 (the King of Spain), but if I know myself, my happiness does not depend so much on greatness as on your kindness and quietness. This must be known to nobody but 38 (the Lord Treasurer), and 42 (the Queen), without whose consent I would not accept of any offer, though of the greatest advantage; besides, if this were known before 81 (the Peace), it would do hurt in 110 (Holland).

THE DUKE OF MARLBOROUGH TO THE DUCHESS OF
MARLBOROUGH.

Sept. 10th, 1708.

I begin to write this morning, believing that I shall not have any of yours this day. Since our last

* The government of the Low-Countries.

attack, I am told that our Engineers and those that govern the siege do not agree so well as they did, which is no good sign for the siege ; for if it should draw in length, I should much more fear the want of ammunition than what the French army could do, though we are in sight. Having writ thus far, contrary to my expectations, I this minute have the happiness of yours of the 24th, with the enclosed copies ; by which I see Mrs. Morley is dissatisfied with what Mrs. Freeman whispered at the church. I have torn all the enclosed papers as you desired. I avoid making answer to what you say concerning 182 (George Churchill), having fully answered it in my former letters, that I had and should assure him that it would not be in my power to protect him ; this being done, if it be expected that I must do some ill-natured thing to convince him that I do not approve of his actions, I must desire to be excused ; for I shall content myself in letting him know and see that he shall have no assistance from me. I am extremely obliged to you for your kind assurances of your endeavours to make me happy, when I shall retire. I find by your reasoning I did not explain myself enough on that subject ; for my intention is not to retire before a safe and good peace be made, unless I find myself made incapable, by the actions of others, of doing good.

THE DUKE OF MARLBOROUGH TO THE DUCHESS OF
MARLBOROUGH.

Sept. 24th, 1708.

I have received yours of the 6th this morning. Could you be thoroughly sensible of the uneasiness I have had for the last six weeks, and still lie under, you would not have used so hard an expression to Mr. Freeman, by saying that he was as cautious in his writing as if he writ to a spy. I do assure you he would with pleasure always let you know his heart and soul ; and besides that, he has not time for the present business, he has said on several occasions, so much on the obstinate perseverance of 42 (the Queen), that I could wish that Mrs. Freeman could see what she so frequently observes, that 42 (the Queen) is not capable of being changed by reason ; so that you should be quiet till the time comes, in which she must change. As to what you say of the offer of King Charles to me, my thought is the same with yours, that I had rather live a quiet life with your love and kindness, than with the most ambitious employment any prince can give. It is certain that this offer is at a distance ; but be assured that if I were fond of it, as really it is otherwise, I would not accept of it, but by your good liking ; for it is with you I must be happy, if am to

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enjoy any such days. As for 42 (the Queen) consenting, in order to be eased as to importunities, I have deserved from her better ; but she need not be uneasy, for whenever I can dispose of my own time it shall not be to importune her.

You will know by the public news that last Friday Prince Eugene received a hurt in the head ; I thank God it is not dangerous, and in two or three days I hope he will be abroad. Our affairs here grow every day worse, at which I can't express my trouble.

THE DUKE OF MARLBOROUGH TO THE DUCHESS OF
MARLBOROUGH.

Cambron, Oct. 14, 1708.*

By my letters from the Hague, I see they are preparing a great deal of business for me, as to their disputes with the emperor, their barrier, and the peace. But I hope the Queen will allow me to speak my mind freely, and then come to England ; for in my opinion they will be so extravagant in their barrier, that it will hinder the treaty for the succession.

* In the MS. the date is 1706, but the allusion in it, and the letter of the same date already given, shows that it must be an error.

THE DUKE OF MARLBOROUGH TO THE DUCHESS OF
MARLBOROUGH.

October 24th, 1708.

What you say of 13 (Duke of Somerset) I know to be true; for he does not only think he has power with Lord Wharton, but with many more. I am of your opinion that he does do hurt with the Queen, but that must be suffered; for if he be a little managed, he will sometimes do good.

MR. MAYNWARING TO THE DUCHESS OF
MARLBOROUGH.*

Thursday Afternoon.

I saw Lord Treasurer after I had sent my letter to your Grace, and told him what I mentioned to you of the conversation I had with Lord Wh— (Wharton) which he was very well satisfied with. At Lord H.'s (Halifax) before dinner, I had a good deal of discourse with Lord Sunderland,† who was very uneasy, and said he had received a letter from you, that shewed you were not well pleased with

* "Curious, 1708, on Lord Halifax and Sunderland's conduct—difficulties about appointing Lord Somers. Sir James Montague, Solicitor General, Oct. 21, 1708."—*Cove*.

† Lord Sunderland had this year caused great vexation to Godolphin and Marlborough by his indiscreet zeal in interfering in the Scotch elections.

him, and I was glad to find for his own sake, as well as other people's, that it had made so much impression upon him.

I will not trouble your Grace with the wise talk I used about the politics ; but I took occasion to say I was very confident you were not angry with him, and that nobody could do him an ill office if he would. Which I the rather mentioned because he took occasion to speak of my having been at the lodge. Your Grace knows whether I am enemy to him, and indeed I do not know that he thinks me so : but it is certain he is mightily deluded, and many of his notions cannot, I think, come from Lord Somers, but from some underlings of his party that haunt his house, or at least from the master* of the feast we were at. And I both hope and believe from what I did observe in him yesterday, that it will be in your power to do him good, and make him more reasonable, which I sincerely wish ; because there is no one whose humour and qualities I like better. But I could not help remarking when I said the same things to the Duke of Devonshire (with whom I went home) about the difficulty that there certainly is of removing the Treasurer just at this time, he took it in another manner : and when I talked to him of moderating the party, he liked it

* Lord Halifax.

very well : and I told him I did not mean by it, that he or any of them, should ever divide from their friends, which nobody could be more troubled to see than I should be. But that they should endeavour one and all, to come into the measures of the government as easily as they could, and to consider the difficulties every way, and compare the dangerous consequences of both sides : and then I thought the more reasonable and practicable they were, the better it would be for the whole ; but if they found themselves deceived or ill-used by the ministers, it would be time enough for them to shew their resentment, in which also they might all join together.

Such a proceeding as this would be so far from dividing the party, that it would strengthen it. And though I have said something like this to every one I have met this fortnight, no one but Lord Sunderland has seemed to differ. But he is now with you, I wish I were too. Whilst I was at dinner yesterday, I received a letter from Lord Treasurer, in which he desired to speak to Lord Wharton this morning, into whose hand I slipped it, as the vice would have done a billet-doux. And to-day I met Lord Treasurer at Mr. Boyle's, who told me he had seen the other Lord, and that they had had a very long conference, and that he believed they were both satisfied with one another, and he

seemed to be in good humour and I in good favour. And, indeed, I have still hopes that matters will go well, which are grounded upon this, that I really believe the ministers will act better than they have done, and that the Whigs have no ill intention of any kind: and therefore there being nothing ill at bottom, when they are brought to understand one another, and to converse more openly and plainly together, I think they cannot disagree. And there would be something so monstrously ridiculous in their dividing, and letting Mr. Harley and Abigail ruin them all, that I can never think it possible to enter into any head that is out of Bedlam. Pray, madam, if ever the Duke of Marlborough mentions in how many days, he thinks they shall have the citadel of Lisle, do me the honour to send me word. I remember one Cardinal D'Ossat has a book of letters printed, which I hearing much commended, did once look into, and I think I begin to copy after them; for they only contain what he said and did every day, and the arguments he used with those he had occasion to speak with. And, indeed, I believe any matters of fact plainly related, are more entertaining than most things that one can invent. But it looks as if I did not care what I said, provided I am but writing. Sir J. Montagu's being preferred, did not seem to transport his brother so much as I have known less matters do. He

seemed to take it rather as a debt paid, than an obligation received: but, however, I hope it will quiet him for the present. And if we can get through this winter well, I don't doubt but there will be a peace before the next; and then I hope your Grace will enjoy all manner of happiness a great deal longer than I shall live.

Endorsed by the Duchess.—This letter shows the terrible life Lord Godolphin and Lord Marlborough led to please the party when the Queen was in Abigail's hands.

Lord Halifax not being much pleased with the preferment of his brother: 'tis certain he had no fixed principle of any kind, but born with a natural antipathy to rest, and there is no baseness he is not capable of, for his interest or his gain.

LORD HALIFAX TO THE DUCHESS OF MARLBOROUGH.

Oct. 24, 1708.

Returns thanks for his brother's promotion—will support Lord Godolphin and the Duke of Marlborough. After desiring her to send a buck to his brother, he adds, I cannot speak of my brother without returning your Grace a thousand thanks for the obliging manner in which you speak to me of his affair, and to assure you that I have a just sense of your favour to him and to me in it. And now it is settled, I am at liberty to follow my inclinations, which are to serve my Lord Marlborough and my

Lord Treasurer, and to wish to make their administration easy to themselves, and happy to all England. I believe they will allow that I have been of some use, and might be so again, though the situation of affairs is much changed, and the difficulty and perplexity of them is such that I do not desire to thrust myself upon them. But if your Grace thinks it of any service, I give you full power to answer these noble Lords, that I am desirous to serve them in every thing, and will certainly go along with them in all things that are agreeable to my principles and the good of my country. If Lord Treasurer has a mind to speak with freedom to me, I will return it with great sincerity and affection; but if he has a better opinion of other sort of notions, I will give him no trouble in forcing him to hear me.*

Endorsed by the Duchess.—When the Hanover family came into England, Lord Halifax did me all the mischief he could, after having professed a great friendship for many years, and I had done him very considerable services.

* "See Godolphin's letter to the Duke about Halifax's abuse of M—h in their way to court."—*Coxe*.

LORD GODOLPHIN TO THE DUCHESS OF
MARLBOROUGH.

Monday Night at 6 o'clock.

I received this afternoon the favour of a letter from you by the boy, and I give you, as I ought to do, a thousand thanks for a great many things in it which were very obliging. I beg leave to return you, not by the post, but by the first safe hand, the letter * you sent me from 4 (Lord Halifax), because it ought to be kept; in the first place, as a curiosity, and next, because whoever could write such a letter in his present circumstances, may hereafter give so much provocation, that one would not but have it in one's power to shew so much impertinence under his own hand. When I have said this, I must own I think the impertinence of it is greater to me than to you; but I shall not take any notice of it to him, nor ever make any court to him for his assistance, which I see by the letter he expects, but rather let him have his full swing with 208 (Harley) and his friends, whom for seven years together he has called enemies to government, rather than not ruin those who have done all that was possible for men to do to oblige him. Now as for what answer you should

* This must be Halifax's letter to the Duchess, dated Oct. 24, and the date of this letter must therefore be somewhere in the latter days of October.

make, I am very much of the opinion which you yourself seem to have, that 'tis best to send him his venison, and not to write : the first preserves civility, and the second will shew his letter has not cured what he must needs know you complained of to 6 (Lord Sunderland). As to your thoughts relative to Sunderland himself, I don't so entirely agree in them, that I can entirely submit my thoughts in that matter, even tho' I could do it in others ; but I do assure you I can very freely do it in all. I think then, what you write to *Eyelashes* upon this subject will bring you in return a very kind tender letter, and perhaps be the occasion of a visit to you from Sunderland, chiefly to complain and say he is sure some ill offices must have been done him to you ; and I think I know him well enough to satisfy myself he cannot do this but in such a manner as will rather give you more reason to be displeased than less ; whereas if other things reconcile, he will probably think fit to take up a little : this is my opinion, but I submit it to you.

You seem to think I must have known what company was to be with you yesterday, but your letter is the only knowledge I have of it to this moment ; by which I find the Vice-Chamberlain, Mr. Bertie,*

* Peregrine Bertie, second son of Robert Bertie, third Earl of Lindsey, was Vice-Chamberlain of the household to Queen Anne, and one of the Tellers of the Exchequer.

was one, and Sir Richard Temple* another. As to what Bertie told you of his project, I have very little faith for any project, and not much in Sir John Germain.† The African Company has been managed for a great many years by a pack of knaves, to speak in poor Mr. Guydott's stile, who have cheated all their adventurers. If a peace comes, that trade is capable of being much improved, but not upon the present foundation, which is, in my opinion, a very rotten one; and I think this parliament nor any other ought not to establish them without first dissolving the present company. I wonder very much that we have not the foreign letters to day: I make no doubt of them to-morrow. The Prince seems to be in no good way at all, in my opinion, as to his health; and I think the Queen herself seems now much more apprehensive of his condition than I have formerly known her upon the same occasion.

Monday Night at 10.

I had written thus much, when David brought me the favour of your letter: I have desired him to call here to-morrow evening, by which time I hope for some letters to send you from my Lord Marlborough, and I send this to the general post-house, as I in-

* Sir Richard Temple served under the Duke in Flanders, and was, in 1714, created Baron Cobham.

† Sir John Germaine, of Drayton, in Northamptonshire.

tended before he came, and by him I will return your letter from 4 (Halifax).

I think I told you in my letter this morning that Lady H. was well, and had a very good stomach to-day. We have dined together these two days, head to head, and Mr. Guy dosing by us. I scarce ever stir abroad, now you are not in town, but to the treasury, or to Kensington.

MR. MAYNWARING TO THE DUCHESS OF
MARLBÓROUGH.

Friday Afternoon, 1708.*

The business in the House of Commons goes on much faster than ever: the land-tax was, I believe, quite gone through to-day; the malt will be given before Christmas, and all the estimates which used to be disputed before that time are already agreed to, except the extraordinaries, which will be done to-morrow. And your Grace has the satisfaction to find that the changes which you were so instrumental in making were well-timed, and have had a better effect than those that were the most zealous for them could hope, for Mr. Harley has writ to 200

* It would seem to have been written about the end of November, or beginning of December.

(Mr. Boyle) to excuse him for not attending the house, and thinks it will be very hard if those who desire only to mind their country business, must be forced to town only to be *the witnesses* of what is doing, or some such expression. I think upon the whole their spirits are quite broke : and if this last was your Grace's scheme, you may own it with some vanity, for things were never so likely to go well and easily since I remember ; yet there will be an angry debate to-morrow about an election, in which Mr. Ross is concerned on one side, and Mr. Smith (for his son-in-law Grant), on the other. By what I could guess to-day, Mr. Ross will carry the first question about receiving the petition ; but upon deep observation, I find the whole to be so peevish a dispute, and of so little consequence to any body in England, that like a great statesman, I will use the pretence of not being very well, to stay at home to-morrow.

Sir H. Furness entrusted me to manage an affair of great consequence for him with the Duke of Marlborough, and was angry with me this morning for having neglected it so many days ; therefore I beg leave to trouble your Grace with it now, and to ask your assistance. Sir Henry says when the Duke of Marlborough wished him joy of his great promotion in the Kit-cat, and enquired when he gave his feast, his Grace did let fall some words which made

his heart leap for joy, intimating that he himself should like to be at it ; and if that could be brought about, he would carry the club into the city, and give such an entertainment as never was seen there. I can only say that, if his Grace shall be at leisure to be there next Thursday, it will be an honour which every member will be proud of, even my Lord Wharton, whom I have consulted upon this occasion ; and they will certainly testify their gratitude by some publick act of more importance, in my poor opinion, than the resolutions of both Houses of Parliament. Having received lately two messages from 249 (Lady Orkney),* to desire I would call upon her, I went thither yesterday. After a little discourse about the politics and Lord Archibald, she said there was something that lay upon her spirits which she had a mind to tell me, the rather because 240 (Duchess of Marlborough) told her at Saint Albans that I spoke well of her ; that she found 240 was mightily changed towards her of late ; that some devil had told lies of her, which every body knew they might do safely, since 240 would never tell another, nor give people an opportunity of clearing themselves. And then she cried, and protested that she never had so much inclination to serve or oblige

* Elizabeth, Countess of Orkney, and sister of Edward, Earl of Jersey. Her husband held a command in the army, and served under Marlborough.

any one in her life ; and to convince me of it, she shewed me a letter which she had writ some time ago, with 240's answer ; and said that, if every word of that was not true, she must be the greatest fiend upon earth. And she did run over a world of old histories, even before 39 (Marlborough) was displaced by the King ; and told me who did that, and how faithful a part she had always acted to him, however she had been misrepresented, and how often she had quarrelled with the late Lord Sunderland about him. When she had done, I asked her if she had any particular commands for me. She said, No, but that she had long desired to tell me all this, and hoped I would make no ill use of it. I answered that I was quite ignorant of what she did apprehend concerning 240's displeasure ; that for what related to the putting off the party at the Lodge, which she said a great deal about, she might please to remember that I said at Saint Albans I did believe it would not hold. She said she remembered it ; then I said that would be no surprise to me, nor I thought no consequence could be drawn from it of any kind ; and a great deal more she said too tedious to trouble your Grace with, only I can't help telling that she mistook when she thought she had shewn me her letter to 240 (the Duchess of Marlborough), and gave me one that she had writ to some man.

THE DUKE OF MARLBOROUGH TO THE DUCHESS OF
MARLBOROUGH.

Dec. 10, 1708.

I am of your opinion that 28 (Shrewsbury) will not be very fond of the alterations - - - be such that I believe 89 (the Whigs), if they think they can make any use of him, they may govern him as long as our affairs have success. I do not much approve of such a temper ; but I take it to be his.

The Duchess of Marlborough asserts that Marlborough and Godolphin would have introduced Shrewsbury into some office of honour, trust, or emolument, but were prevented by the Whigs.*

THE DUKE OF MARLBOROUGH TO THE DUCHESS OF
MARLBOROUGH.

Dec. 13, 1708.

Since my last, Doctor Hare is gone for England : as he is like not to make much haste, I have writ only two words by him to you. I wish the time were come that I might be thinking of that journey ; but I can't guess when that may be ; for till the frost ends we can neither begin to make our batteries nor open the trenches, the ground being as hard as iron,

* This letter and the observation which concludes it, is so ill written by Coxe, that it is impossible to read the hand-writing.

which you may believe gives me uneasiness, as the greatest part of our subsistence from henceforward, and particularly our forage, must come from Holland. If this frost should freeze the canals, we should be put very hard for the carrying on our designs ; but as God has blessed us on so many occasions, I trust in his goodness that he will give us in due time such weather as may give us an opportunity of finishing this campaign, so as we may have quiet hereafter. I send Lord Treasurer a letter we have intercepted, written by the Elector of Bavaria's secretary ; that will let you see the necessity of having Ghent if possible, and that he is not very well pleased with the French. The comfort I have amongst the many troubles is that you do not doubt of every thing going on well in England. Your last letter was of the 18th.

THE DUKE OF MARLBOROUGH TO THE DUCHESS OF
MARLBOROUGH.

December 30th, 1708.

You will by these letters know the good news, that the garrison of Ghent is to leave that place on Wednesday morning, if not relieved before. I am now taking measures for the reducing of Bruges, with which we shall end this campaign. I have desired the Lord Treasurer to advise with Lord

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Somers and Lord Sunderland, concerning what you write me of Lord Halifax. In the mean time you may assure him that I shall be ready to do all that is in my power. When I writ last I had so great a cold and sore throat, that it was very uneasy to me to write, otherwise I should have acquainted you with a letter* I had from the States, which I sent to Mr. Secretary Boyle; their desire is absolutely necessary, so that I believe the Queen must grant it, which will deprive me of the satisfaction of being with you till February, Prince Eugene promising to return by the beginning of March. You may be sure that I shall not stay one day longer than the service obliges me; so that I shall say no more till tomorrow, but that I am heart and soul yours.

THE DUKE OF MARLBOROUGH TO THE DUCHESS OF
MARLBOROUGH.

December, 31, 1708.

I writ yesterday by the express I sent by the way of Ostend, to let you know that the Comte de la Motte had capitulated to march out of Ghent next Wednesday, if not succoured sooner; the Marshal Boufflers is at Tournay, but we do not hear that he has troops enough to do that service. I have this

* To stay in Holland for the negotiations.

morning writ to the Governor and town of Bruges, to offer them the same capitulations I have given to this place, but fear they will only return a civil answer, and oblige me to march with part of the army thither, which if possible I would avoid; especially now that it looks like wet weather, the rain having begun yesterday, and God having hitherto blessed us with extreme good weather, we may now reasonably expect a great deal of rain. My next letter will let you know what I shall be obliged to do; for if I do not go to Bruges, then I shall go for two or three days to the Hague, with Prince Eugene, and then return to this country, where I must continue till the end of February. The months of March and April will be under the care of the Prince of Savoy; by this you will see, that I shall enjoy but very little time with my dear soul this winter in England, if we must have war next summer. I do hope that the taking of these two towns will oblige the enemy to wish for a peace. I have this minute received yours of the 14th, but have not time to say more by this post than that Mr. Bromley's and other gentlemen's goodnature, joined with the trouble I have here, makes me quite weary of serving.

MR. MAYNWARING TO THE DUCHESS OF
MARLBOROUGH.

1708 or 1709.

Since you complain of the paper * *

* * I am very glad to hear that you continue at the Castle; though if you had been at the lodge happy, I designed to have begged leave to dine with you on Saturday; but I am better satisfied as it is, for this is most dismal weather for that cold place.

I believe that I wrote Lord Coningsby* word how much you are at the Castle, thus making him know how often you see her majesty, and nothing would be so easy as to set about a concert, upon Abigail's going to Kensington, now you are at Windsor, as if she had lost her ground already; but you have quite subdued me as to that matter, and I am so far from wishing you a favorite, that I hardly wish you should be thought so. But I can't help admiring the state of that wretch, with her two coaches and her close waggon. The old vice, how can he know it * * are to day that you * *

[This letter is imperfect.]

* Thomas Baron Coningsby, an Irish peer, who had been a zealous promoter of the Revolution, and was with King William at the battle of the Boyne. He was raised to an English peerage on the accession of George I. In a letter to the Duke of Marlborough, dated 1708, Godolphin speaks of him with much respect, as a person to whose counsel he was glad to have recourse.—“I have had a letter from Lord Coningsby, whose judgement and experience, in all the affairs of the Parliament, I value very much.”

THE DUKE OF MARLBOROUGH TO THE DUCHESS OF
MARLBOROUGH.

Brussels, Feb. 14. 1709.

Since mine of yesterday, I have received yours of the 25th, and find you are very desirous that Mr. Lumley might have the vacant company in the Scotch Guards, as that regiment has not served abroad; if the Queen approves of it, I should be desirous she would give it before my return to England. My Lord Lothian,* who is the colonel, having writ to me for the Lord Cranstoun his son-in-law to have it: and the Earl of Stairs desires his brother, who is a member of Parliament, might have it, D. Hamilton, I am told for a dependent of his, having wrote last night a long letter by Colonel Abercromby. I have no more to say, but that I hold my resolution of beginning my journey to the Hague on Monday, in order to return and embark at the time I have formerly mentioned. I enclose a copy of the Speaker's letter which I forgot in my last.

I am heart and soul yours.

* William Kerr, second Marquess of Lothian. His daughter Jane was married to William Baron Cranstoun.

THE DUKE OF MARLBOROUGH TO THE DUCHESS OF
MARLBOROUGH.

At sea, Feb. 23, 1709.

A contrary wind keeping us at sea, has given me this opportunity of writing by the packet boat, of letting you know that we are safe about eight leagues from Goree, where I hope we shall be to-morrow morning, so that I may be able to write to you for bills by the next post from the Hague. I send you enclosed nine hundred pounds on the Caggs, so that you may have no mistakes in your accounts. Having been sick at sea, my head aches so that you will excuse my saying no more,

But that I am with all my heart yours.

THE DUKE OF MARLBOROUGH TO THE DUCHESS OF
MARLBOROUGH.

Hague, May 19, 1709.

My passage was so ill, that I got to this place not till yesterday morning ; the wind was so very high, that Lord Townshend * was forced into Zealand, and I

* Lord Townshend and the Duke of Marlborough went together to the Hague, in May, 1709, in the expectation of effecting a general peace. The following letters throw considerable light on the sentiments of the Duke at this period. It is probable that he never indulged great hopes of their success. It is said that while in England, on being

was never sicker in my life. You will have an account from Lord Treasurer that every thing goes so well here, that there is no doubt of its ending in a good peace, but for some little time it must not be spoke of. You must have in readiness the side-board of plate, and you must let the Lord Treasurer know, that since the Queen came to the Crown, I have had neither a canopy nor a chair of state, which now of necessity I must have, so the tradespeople should have immediate orders, and I beg you will take care to have it made so that it may serve for part of a bed, when I have done with it here, which I hope will be by the end of this summer, so that I may enjoy your dear company in quiet, which is the greatest satisfaction I am capable of having. I have so great a head-ache that you will excuse my saying no more by this post.

* * * * *

In the mean time let us be quiet and say as little as is possible. God has his ways of punishing, and I believe 256 (Mrs. Masham) is to be the instrument that will cause great mortification to 42 (the Queen) and it may be to others we wish well to. For this world is not always governed by reason, and that 240 (you) and 38 (Lord Treasurer) may be upon

asked who were to be plenipotentiaries for the peace, he turned round and answered with great coolness, "There are about a hundred thousand of us."

their guard. I am assured by 39 (Marlborough) that he thinks that 256 and 230 (Mr. Harley) have made 42 (the Queen) jealous of the power of 38 (Lord Treasurer) and 210 (me) but nobody should know this but 209 (you)?

Since my last, we have met with difficulties that will make us be some days longer before we can be masters of the town.*

I have received yours of the 8th by way of Holland, with the measures for the hangings, but have not time to examine them; but by the next post you shall have my thoughts.

THE DUKE OF MARLBOROUGH TO THE DUCHESS OF
MARLBOROUGH.

May 21, 1709.

By my last, you would have thought as I did, that the peace was as good as concluded, but this day that matter is a good deal changed by the news M. de Torcy has received of my Lord Galway† being beaten.

However, I hope all will end well at last. This unseasonable news from Portugal vexes me so much that I must say no more.

* The latter part of this letter seems to be part of one written later, perhaps during the siege of Mons, and which has been misplaced. Marlborough and Townshend reached the Hague on the 18th of May.

† This must refer to the battle of the Caya.

THE DUKE OF MARLBOROUGH TO THE DUCHESS OF
MARLBOROUGH.

Hague, May 26, 1709.

I have this afternoon had yours of the 10th, which served only to cover my Lord Treasurer's letter, and though it was very short, it gave me the satisfaction of knowing you were well. Since my last, we have had several conferences, for the ill news from Portugal makes our negotiation more slowly. However, I hope by Monday we may have finished the preliminaries, which may be looked upon as the peace, especially by England, since the barrier and the ruining of Dunkirk are agreed. I should be glad you would let me know if the Queen's intentions are, that her ambassadors here, I mean their coaches and liveries, should be in mourning. The Queen must not know that I have asked this question. You may tell 6 (Sunderland) from me, that I now think we shall have a good peace, and that even that of Newfoundland will be amongst the preliminaries, so that I may hope to be in a little time at quiet.

May 27.

This letter having been stopped, I have the opportunity of telling you, that since the writing of it, we were very near breaking off of the whole, the Dutch desiring some things for their barrier which

were thought very unreasonable by Prince Eugene, and Comte Zenzindorff; but that difficulty I thank God is over, so that we have now only to struggle with the objections of Monsieur de Torcy, who protests not to have powers sufficient for the agreeing and signing of what we insist upon.

THE DUKE OF MARLBOROUGH TO THE DUCHESS OF
MARLBOROUGH.

Hague, May 29, 1709.

Monsieur de Torcy left this place last night, not having power to sign what we insist upon for our preliminaries. The King of France has time to the 4th of the next month, to sign. Prince Eugene and Comte de Zenzindorff are to sign for the Emperor, Lord Townshend and myself for England, and the Dutch will also sign this afternoon; so that, unless the King of France is obstinately resolved upon the ruin of his country, I think this matter is brought to a happy conclusion, that even Mr. Bromley will hardly be able to find fault with this peace. Prince Eugene does not leave this place till to-morrow, and it is resolved that I stay till the King of France's answer comes. By the project of preliminaries, which we send by Mr. Walpole's brother, you will see that we have taken all the care we can, that, if

possible, this whole matter might be settled by the first of August; but I am afraid we shall find that time too short, but you may be sure I shall do all in my power to get into England as soon as possible, in order to which, if we are once sure of peace, I shall then work day and night for the sending back of the troops, and the dispatching everything that must be done by me.

THE DUKE OF MARLBOROUGH TO THE DUCHESS OF
MARLBOROUGH.

Hague, May 31, 1709.

Since the going away of M. de Torcy, I have some time to myself, so that I begin to write this letter, though the post does not go out till to-morrow. I have the satisfaction to tell my dear soul, that I have now a prospect of living quietly for sometime with you, for I do verily believe the condition of France to be such, that they must submit to the conditions we have given them: and they are such, that I hope everybody will be pleased with them. I believe 4 (Halifax) will be very sorry for our being gone so far, since it does make his coming not very necessary; and if he should, he would be looked upon as a cypher. Pray let me know how he behaves himself on this news. We have settled everything that Eng-

land could wish, except what concerns the Pretender. The method of that is sent to the peace, so that Lord Townshend and myself shall want the advice of 38 (Godolphin), 5 (Somers), and 6 (Sunderland). If Lord Coningsby is in town, I should be glad to know what his thoughts may be as to the Parliament; if we can finish this treaty by the end of August,—I mean what time they ought to meet. I was in hopes we might have had letters from England, but none are come. Lord Townshend has taken Monsieur d'Odecks house for six months; and I am in hopes that the King of Prussia will lend me his if I should want one.

THE DUKE OF MARLBOROUGH TO THE DUCHESS OF
MARLBOROUGH.

Hague, June 4th, 1709.

Since my last, I have had yours of the 13th and 16th, by my Lord Dunmore's son. It will meet with difficulty the Lt.-Col's. place which you desire for him; but you may assure Lord Dunmore* I shall endeavour to do it, and shall be very well pleased if I can succeed, since I see it would be a satisfaction to you, whom I shall always be glad to

* Lord Charles Murray, first Earl of Dunmore: His son, Viscount Fincastle, was Colonel of the 3rd regiment of Foot-guards.

please. You will see by the preliminaries, sent over by Mr. Walpole, that there ought to be no great need of the D. of Newcastle's* hand, or anybody else, to make this peace be liked; and if 38 (Godolphin) can make any reasonable excuse to 4 (Halifax), I should think it upon all accounts much better that he did not come; the reason which might be given him is, that everything of consequence is settled, and it is resolved nobody shall take the character of Ambassador, till the day we sign, by which we hope to avoid all manner of ceremony, and be able to finish it by the end of the next month. This is next to impossible; however it is the language we talk here, and may very well be said to him. I shall say nothing of this to Lord Treasurer, knowing you will let him see what I write, hoping he will approve of it. 5 (Somers) and 6 (Sunderland) should be made easy in this matter. The business of the sea is certainly of that consequence that it ought to be settled; but what is proposed for 15 (the Earl of Orford), I believe it impossible for anybody to prevail with 42 (the Queen) to give her consent. I do not doubt but 38 (Godolphin) will consult 5 (Somers), and 6 (Sunderland), and 11, of the best method as for the settling the sea business, if that were well done. I should hope everything might go well if the French consent to the preliminaries; I

* John Holles, Marquess of Clare, and Duke of Newcastle.

shall then be going to Flanders about this day sen-
night ; if they make difficulties, I shall then go the
day after their answer comes, which we think will
be the day after to-morrow. So that by the next post
we shall let you know what we are to trust to ; but I
no ways doubt their complying, though our demands
had been higher.

I am with much truth yours.

THE DUKE OF MARLBOROUGH TO THE DUCHESS OF
MARLBOROUGH.

Hague, June 5th, 1709.

Lord Treasurer will let you know, by what we
have sent to Mr. Secretary, the reasons why the
King of France refuses to ratify the preliminaries.
I go from hence to-morrow, in order to join the
army, which are to be together by the 12th. Not-
withstanding this delay, I am very confident the
preliminaries will be agreed to before the end of this
month. Lord Townshend and myself find every-
body here expects we should be in mourning ; so
that there is no difficulty in speaking to the Queen,
if you think it may be turned to a compliment. I
am no ways surprised that 42 (the Queen) did not
enquire after me, for I know very well there is no
more kindness, and I have taken my measures never

expect any. What is proposed for Lord Hertford, if 38 (Godolphin) approves of it I shall like it; otherwise, I should think the compliment is of that consequence, that the Duke of Somerset himself should be glad to be employed. You do very well not to tell Mr. Breet to come over, till I have a colour for him. I have but one tent, which was made in Turkey, that is fit to be brought over, and that you may be sure I shall do. If the Bishop of Salisbury* could know my heart, he would be satisfied that my intentions are very zealous for the French protestants; but all protestants are not of the same mind, so that I am afraid that matter will not be pushed so far as it ought to be. By a message I have this minute received from the Pensioner, I have given orders for stopping the post.

June 8th,—I have not time to give you an account of what has passed this day. But as we have writt at large to Mr. Secretary, 38 (Godolphin) will be able to give you an account of the whole: my next will be from Flanders. Mr. and Mrs. Howet† are here, and intend to be going for England next Tuesday; she has been in danger of being drowned.

* Gilbert Burnet.

† Mr. Howe was the British envoy at the court of Hanover.

THE DUKE OF MARLBOROUGH TO THE DUCHESS OF
MARLBOROUGH.

Rotterdam, June 9th, 1709.

Being on my journey for the army, and in all probability no other opportunity of writing till the end of this week, I would not lose this opportunity, though it be two days before the post. Monsieur de Rouillé is returned without signing; however, I can't but think that some way will be found before the end of this month for our agreeing, everybody having approved of the pleasing thoughts of peace. I confess I thought it sure, believing it very much for the interest of France to have agreed with us: but since they think otherwise, I hope God has a farther blessing in store. I was in hopes to have had the happiness of being with you before the winter; I wish I could still flatter myself with those thoughts. I do wish you all happiness and speed with your building at London, but beg that may not hinder you from pressing forward the building at Blenheim, for we are not so much master of that as the other. I must not end this letter, without telling you that I have reason to be very well pleased with Lord Townshend.

THE DUKE OF MARLBOROUGH TO THE DUCHESS OF
MARLBOROUGH.

Gand, June 13th, 1709.

If you can but let me know to whom in Holland the damasques are sent, I shall take care to have them brought to England. As to what you write as to 74 (Lord Raby) being impertinent is very true, but if he were not named it would be unjust, and I think there will be very little honour since he must continue where he is, and not sign. I know him both to be impertinent and insignificant; but if he should be left out it would look like malice, and that should be avoided. As to 104 (Admiralty), since everybody desires that 15 (Orford)* should be at the head, I wish him there with all my heart; but I fear nobody has power to get it done. You are rightly informed as to 4 (Halifax) making court to 51 (Electress Sophia): he did in some of his letters assure her that, were it not for her service, he should not have taken the trouble of being employed; so

* Edward Russell, grandson of Francis, fourth Earl of Bedford. He was created Admiral by King William, and in 1692 gained the splendid victory of La Hogue. In 1697 he was created Earl of Orford, a title which became extinct with him in 1727, and was afterwards conferred on Sir Robert Walpole. Orford had been a great champion of the revolution, and was now noted as a staunch whig. He was particularly obnoxious to the Queen; and the struggle between her inclination and the determined efforts of the whigs, to get him into place, was continued during the whole of the summer.

that he thinks by his dexterity to impose on everybody, but I hope at last he will be known by everybody. The weather is so very bad, that we have deferred the joining of the army for some days, in which time, if France have any inclination for peace, we shall hear from Monsieur de Rouillée, who was this day at Versailles, so that in my next I may be able to let you know which it will be, peace or war.

I have lost the cypher you gave me at Margate.

THE DUKE OF MARLBOROUGH TO THE DUCHESS OF
MARLBOROUGH.

Abbey of Looz, June 24, 1709.

Since my last I have had none of yours but one, of the 23rd of May, given me by an officer. I think Lord Feversham owed three years last christmas; but if you send for the Steward, he will show you the last acquittance. As for his estate, when I was about it two years ago, everybody thought him unreasonable in his demand; but if you can have it for a pennyworth, you will do well to buy it. I remember one objection was, that he had ploughed up the meadow ground, so that some years hence it would not yield the same rent. I do by this post send to Lord Treasurer, a copy of the King of France's letter, in which he gives reasons to his

people for having refused the agreeing to the preliminaries ; so that we may now be sure that we must make this campaign. So that you need not be hasty in sending over the buffet of plate, nor the canopy of state. When you are most at leisure let me know some particular of what you directed when you were last at Woodstock. We have now our army together, and I thank God the weather is much better ; the French army is also together, and are so strongly entrenched, that we must turn our thoughts to some operation that may oblige them to decamp. The two suites of hangings which were made at Bruxelles by Vanburgh's measure cost me above eight hundred pounds, so that if possible they should serve for the rooms they were intended for ; being sure in England there can be none had so good or fine. If Lord Treasurer and Vanburgh approve of it, you may keep one of the marble blocks, so that the room where you intend your buffet, may be well done ; I remember you were desirous of having one, but if you have taken other measures, or altered your mind, you will say nothing, but take it as I mean it, kindly, as I shall do in the whole course of my life, everything that I think may be a satisfaction to you. You have but to let me know what you wish for, and if it be in my power it will be done ; for as I would be glad to have nothing to do with politics, I would center all my happiness in your kindness.

THE DUKE OF MARLBOROUGH TO THE DUCHESS OF
MARLBOROUGH.

July 1, 1709.

I have received all at one time yours of the 5th, 7th, and 10th : you make excuse for their length ; but I do with all my heart return you thanks, and at the same time assure you that it is with a very great pleasure I receive your letters. As to the good-natured turn of some of my countrymen, it is what must ever be expected as long as parties are in being ; which I believe must be as long as England has a being. Notwithstanding their remarks, I am very well assured that 39 (Duke of Marlborough) would have been very glad if 43 (K. of France) had consented.*

I agree entirely with you that Mr. Vanburgh must be carefully observed, and not suffered to begin any new work ; but to apply all the money to the finishing what I directed before I left England. Mr. Travers and Mr. Hacksmore are more particularly informed of what I desired should be finished this year ; I hope the alterations you have made in the ceilings will not hinder the finishing of your apartment and mine, so that we may finish it next

* The Duke's enemies in England represented the breaking off of the preliminaries of the peace as a result of his own intrigues, because it was his interest to prolong the war.

spring ; for I would fain flatter myself that I may yet be so happy as to be with you there next spring. As to what you write concerning 104 (the Admiralty), you know my opinion already, that if I could do it, 15 (Orford) should be employed in what he desires. Not that I think he would answer his friends' expectations ; for if I do not mistake very much, you would see, in two sessions of Parliament, that he would take some pretext to quit ; but these are my fears, and not my concerns ; for the *view* I have in this matter is to give content to those that desire he should be employed. By the enclosed letter sent to Mr. Cardonnell, you will see that poor Pennyfather has been obliged to give eleven hundred and fifty pounds to 7 (Lord Wharton), which will undo his family, for his wounds will not let him live very long to enjoy the employment. Pray do not lose the letter. We are using our utmost diligence in getting cannon and all other necessaries for the carrying on of this siege.* I am very glad your building goes on so entirely to your satisfaction, and that I shall see it covered at my return. I do very much agree with you that happiness is seldom found in a court, no more than quietness in an army ; but my great comfort is, if we have success in this campaign, we may have ours in other places.

* The siege of Tournay.

THE DUKE OF MARLBOROUGH TO THE DUCHESS OF
MARLBOROUGH.

July 4, 1709, before Tournay.

I have had the happiness of yours of the 16th. If 4 (Lord Halifax) has a mind to impose on, or make use of 65 (Mr. De Cardonnel), I am apt to believe, when I come for England, I shall know it, for 65 does not love him; besides he knows it is in my power to have another put in his place. As the design of the enemy is to put troops into this town, our greatest application is to finish our lines of circumvallation by which we hope to hinder them. What you say of my Lord Dursley * may be true, for I have very little acquaintance with him; but I remember when he was made an admiral, 89 (the Whigs) were very pressing for him. Is the business of 104 (the Admiralty) so far advanced as to the naming those that should be of it, for I have never heard one word of it, but from yourself and Mr. Craggs? It is not to be imagined what the poor country people suffer here for want of bread; and I am afraid the scarcity of everything will force us into winter-quarters much sooner than what the good of the service will require; but we shall take our measures to stay in the field as long as possible, for I would fain make an end of the war.

* James Berkeley, Viscount Dursley, a distinguished naval officer, who, in 1710, succeeded his father as Earl of Berkeley.

THE DUKE OF MARLBOROUGH TO THE DUCHESS OF
MARLBOROUGH.

July 8, 1709.

Since my last I have not had the happiness of any from you ; the weather continues so ill with us that I have not as yet quitted my winter cloaths ; I believe such weather as we have had was never known since the beginning of the world. Our chief engineer has had his leg broken, so that we did not open the trenches till last night, as we make three attacks, we hope to tire the garrison. Their army will be strengthened by ten thousand men they draw from the Rhine, so that they will have a very little army on the Rhine ; but we do not as yet hear the Elector has left Hanover.

I have had a letter by the last post from Mr. Travers, by which I see he will be ready to obey what orders you shall give him, that no new work is begun. I should be glad you would let me know what sum of money your building will require by your contracts between this and the first of November. By the paper I have of the messages, I find some of them are one year and a half and two years in arrear. You should appoint some particular body for the soliciting the payments, as well as the assisting the account for Sandridges ; for all the rest

of the accounts are in a very regular method ; so that you will excuse the trouble I give you in this, which I hope you may do in half an hour's time with Mr. Hodges, when you let him know positively what you would have him do.

Mr. Cardonnel * tells me that, by the last post, I sent him your letter unsealed. I do not remember that I ever did so before ; and tho' he is a very honest man, I have been uneasy that it should be in anybody's power to see what I write to you. I have this minute received yours of the 21st ; but have not time to say any more than to thank you by this post. I should have sent you the enclosed two or three months ago.

THE DUKE OF MARLBOROUGH TO THE DUCHESS OF
MARLBOROUGH.

July 11, 1709.

I have had the happiness of yours of the 23d and 24th ; by both accounts I find that you are apprehensive that Mr. Vanburgh gives me false accounts of what passes at the building at Woodstock. I do assure you, upon my word, that I have neither

* Adam Cardonnel, Esq., was Secretary to the Duke of Marlborough till the beginning of 1710, when he succeeded Mr. Walpole as Secretary of War.

received any accounts or any letter from him, since I left England : I approve of all you have done ; but for fear of mistakes, I desire you will give orders that the stables which are already covered should be finished, so that the horses and servants might be in that building. I believe you can't be too careful of hindering Vanburgh from beginning new foundations, for nothing is so good as the finishing of what is ordered. I am desirous that you would send me the exact measures of the rooms in your house in London, which you desire should be furnished with tapestry. I also desire of you that you would get me the exact measures of the great room, as well as all the others that are between the saloon and the *grande cabinet*, and that I may have all these measures as soon as possible. It is not to be imagined the ill weather we have, insomuch that the poor soldiers in the trenches are up to their knees in dirt, which gives me the spleen to a degree that makes me very uneasy, and consequently makes me languish for retirement. I do assure you, upon my word and honour, my greatest and earnest desire is to be with you.

THE DUKE OF MARLBOROUGH TO THE DUCHESS OF
MARLBOROUGH.

July the 15th, 1709.

We have been so extremely vexed with the wet weather, that we think ourselves very happy to see the sunshine. I have none of yours to answer, but as the wind is fair I hope for the happiness of hearing from you to-morrow.

Mr. Craggs* has brought me a letter from the King of Spain, in answer to mine, in which I gave him my reasons why I desired to be excused from accepting the government of this country. He seems to hope that peace may alter those reasons, and that, for his own sake, he hopes I will take the government upon me. As I am resolved to end my days in quiet, I have resolved to send the letter to Lord Treasurer, so that he may shew it to the Queen, and from him I may be enabled to give an answer.

I do hope this winter will put an end to this war, and that the peace may last as long as we shall live; and I do assure you I long every day to be more and more with you, to live as much as our circumstances will permit, not to affect the meddling with public business, by which I hope we may be eased both of envy and trouble.

* Mr. Craggs was the British resident at the Court of Spain. He was in Flanders at the commencement of the campaign of 1709, and was with the army during the siege of Tournay.

THE DUKE OF MARLBOROUGH TO THE DUCHESS OF
MARLBOROUGH.

July 18, 1709.

I have already wrote to you this morning by Mr. Craggs, who is gone by Ostend, however, I would not fail by this post, which I believe will be sooner with you, to thank you for the plan of Woodstock, which was enclosed in yours of the 28th. I have also received yours of the 1st, and am glad of the general applause your house* meets with, since I am sure it gives you pleasure; and for the same reason be not uneasy that it costs more money than you thought it would, for upon my word, I shall think nothing too much for the making you easy. When I wrote my last, I was in hopes we should have had good weather, but we have rain every day: however, as I hope we shall have the town in five or six days, after which we must apply all our thoughts for the citadel. You need not send me the copies of your letters in which your orders are for Woodstock, for that would give you trouble, and I am entirely satisfied with what you have done. If we have not peace, I shall be sooner with you this year than any of this war, for in all likelihood we shall not find forage to enable us to make a long campaign, and that is what I fear the French know as well as we.

* The house in Pall Mall.

THE DUKE OF MARLBOROUGH TO THE DUCHESS OF
MARLBOROUGH.

July 22, 1709.

I have received yours which came by Ostend, but as it is dated the 23d of July, it must be a mistake, so that I know not when it came from you. I did by the last post answer Lord Treasurer's letter, as to the regiment of dragoons, by which you will see that I had the same thoughts of that matter, as you seem to have by your letter, for I think it a very unreasonable desire. As to what you write of the marble in the towers which was for a fountain, if it can't be mended, it is certainly not worth their taking, but it would have been desirable, and I think not the less for having been brought from Alicante, since the house is in memory of the war, by the name it is to have. You make me no answer to a former letter, in which I acquainted you, that if I was to take care of the silks that are to come from Genoa to Holland, I should know to what merchant they are directed, and then I shall be sure to bring them with me. I am glad to see by yours, that Lord Treasurer has both health and leisure to see his horses in Wiltshire, I wish him all happiness, and I think every innocent pleasure should be indulged, and as I think at this time yours is, building, I wish you with all my heart good weather.

Whoever you appoint to receive the interest for

the mortgages, you should send to the Duke of Newcastle as well as to the others. Joseph Marshall, of St. Albans, sent me the enclosed; he is a very honest man, so that if you have promised him, you may desire Mr. Craggs to have it done. As the French seem to be resolved not to capitulate for the town before our breaches are in perfection, we must have patience for two or three days longer.

THE DUKE OF MARLBOROUGH TO THE DUCHESS OF
MARLBOROUGH. *

July 26th, 1709.

Having your two letters of the 5th and 8th to answer, I begin to write, though the post does not go out till to-morrow night; as to what concerns Woodstock, I have already assured you of my approving of what you have ordered; but as to the design for the Orange-houses, that must, in its due time, go on; notwithstanding it hinders the view from the gallery, it will be time enough for me to acquaint you with my reason, when I may have the happiness of being with you. I think the letter writ by 78 (Mr. Maynwaring) to be a very reasonable letter, but I have so many reasons to be convinced

* "Very curious."—*Coxe*.

of the opinion that you have of 239 (the Queen), that neither reason nor gratitude will ever oblige them to do what is right. However 39 (Marlborough) tells me, that he will take his time of making use of the greatest part of that letter. Not that I think it will do any good. However, I think it should be tried. 39 (Marlborough) agrees entirely with the opinion of 240 (the Duchess) that as long as 256 (Mrs. Masham) has credit with 42 (the Queen) there will be no pleasure nor safety, for 273, 271, and 272, to continue in the service of the Queen.* So that 39 (Marlborough) bids me assure you that he has taken his measures, that as soon as peace (81) returns, he will meddle with nothing. When I see you, you shall know his reasons, which I am confident you will approve of.

THE DUKE OF MARLBOROUGH TO THE DUCHESS OF
MARLBOROUGH.

July 29th, 1709.

I send Mr. Collings with the good news of the town of Tournay capitulating;† I believe we shall this day agree upon the articles, which will be sent

* These cyphers must mean Godolphin and the Duke and Duchess of Marlborough.

† The town of Tournay capitulated on the 26th of July, and surrendered on the 30th.

by the way of Holland, but I send this by Ostend, in hopes you may have it before the letters from Holland. I do not know but that I may make no use of them, however, I should be glad to have the exact measures of the room next to the saloon, as also of the room of the bow window. You shall hear from me again by the post of Holland.

I am heart and soul yours.

THE DUKE OF MARLBOROUGH TO THE DUCHESS OF
MARLBOROUGH.

July 30, 1709.

We have at last signed the capitulation for the town of Tournay; so that to-morrow night we shall continue the attack on the citadel.* The taking of it we fear will cost us more time and men, than that of the town; but what gives me the greatest prospect for the happiness of being with you, is, that certainly the misery of France increases, which must bring us to a peace. The misery of all the poor people we see is such, that one must be a brute not to pity them; may you ever be happy, and I enjoy some few years of quiet with you, is what I daily pray for.

* The citadel surrendered on the 3rd of September.

MR. MAYNWARING TO THE DUCHESS OF
MARLBOROUGH.

1709.*

* * * * *

was then past forty, and I am sure it is much stranger in the present instance. And what is said, that 15's (Orford) crimes in attacking the wise management of the Prince's council are not to be pardoned, is ridiculous, because 5 (Somers), who is already pardoned, had more of that commendable guilt upon him than 15 (Orford). Nor does it seem to be enough considered that the putting 15 (Orford) into the commission, is not so much a favour to him as the leaving him out will be a disparagement and particular mark of dislike, since nobody can have so natural a call to it, nor has so much merit to pretend from service. Nor is it considered that those men that everybody would have to be in this commission (such as Sir G. Byng and your Grace's namesake) are the particular friends and servants of Lord Orford and raised by him, who has one merit really very great and unquestionable, to have always preferred the best officers in the service. So that these men will either not

* This letter is imperfect. "On the obstacles to the appointment of Lord Orford: complains of the secret opposition, and lukewarmness of Mr. Boyle and Lord Godolphin. This letter must have been written in July, when the appointment of Orford was still uncertain."—*Coxe.*

serve at all without him, or must serve disagreeably and weakly, when the rest of their friends, from whom they must expect their support, shall be dissatisfied with them, and think they do ill to come into a commission when their common benefactor received so great a slight. Though the merits of 39 (Marlborough) are not to be named on the same day with those of 15 (Orford), or of anybody, yet there is some little parallel, if hereafter there should be a commission for the affairs of the army in which there should be a purpose of leaving out 39 (Marlborough), and of putting in some of those that had been thought useful and had been raised by him; such as Mr. Cadogan, Palmes, or the like. I confess, for my own part, if they took it, I should think they deserved to be hanged, and should be ready to give my helping hand to it, without staying till they had committed any faults in their office. Something like this censure will be passed upon any of Orford's friends that shall be employed now without him; and I believe the ministry will be so far from being raised or strengthened by any such new commission, that it will be much better to let the business rub on as it does for the present; though in that case it will be difficult for 5 (Somers) to keep his post, and the relations of Orford will be all dissatisfied, some of which are very considerable; such as the Duke of Devon and Lord Granby; and even

the Duke of Bedford will be more so every day, for he is quite recovered from the infatuation of Lord Granville, and is returned to the principles of his family, and as a proof of that, begins to get rich, and has paid his debts ; and I believe he is a very honest well-tempered man. So that it seems downright unwise and unskilful thus to single out a man that is recommended by past services, and supported by so many relations and strong alliances ; the rather because there can be no difficulty in removing him again upon the least pretence ; for I believe he will hardly grow a favourite in the reign of bright Abigail. Lord Ryalton owned to Walpole yesterday that his father had no mind to this matter, and 200 (Boyle) played a shuffling trick, according to custom ; for he was to have met Walpole and 78 (Maynwaring) at Mr. Brydges' on Saturday, where we promised 6 (Sunderland) to speak to him of this affair. But he sent his excuse, and told 78 at night that he was obliged to carry the Queen's letters : but 78 (Maynwaring) observing that he looked guiltily when he said so, and being very near akin to 240 (the Duchess), and therefore apt to lay things together, could not help sifting what he said, and found the letters were sent before him to 38 (Godolphin) ; so that it is certain Boyle is in his heart against Orford ; and though he told Walpole that he had given his opinion for him, he did not do

it openly when they were all with Godolphin. And thus, to please this doughty minister and two or three more who may be made to leap over a staff, the business of the next session may be in danger of miscarrying, and the whole Whig interest may be irrecoverably divided and torn to pieces. Sunderland took me into his office when church was done, and told me some part of what I have written, and seemed uneasy and disappointed, having had hopes that the transaction would have been cleared ; and he said he had now no good expectations from anybody but you, who must do the thing at last, if it is to be done. I told him that you needed nothing to be said on that subject, as having always thought of it just as he did ; yet whatever should be particularly desired at any time would carry the greatest weight if it directly came from Somers, with which he seemed mightily pleased, and said he believed it, having, as I perceived, had some account of the late interview at St. James's.

Monday afternoon.—When I had writ this I went out to hear if there was any tidings of a post, and found, with great pleasure, that one was come in, and that your letters were sent away, which I was mighty glad of, though I came too late to send this by that express.

Though you say the Tories will be satisfied when they have all, you mean and consider that the most

considerable are to be left out in this scheme, and 199 (Harley) pretends to be the head which will make such men as Lord Nottingham draw off as many as they can from him.

THE DUKE OF MARLBOROUGH TO THE DUCHESS OF
MARLBOROUGH.

August 1, 1709.

Since my last I have received none from England, so that I have nothing by this post to let you know, but that I thank God I have my health, and that we are going on with the attack on the citadel, and that the weather is now pretty good.

My Lord Montague is desirous of coming to the army, as you will see by the enclosed letters ; but I have desired Lord Halifax to persuade him not to think of it till the next year.

THE DUKE OF MARLBOROUGH TO THE DUCHESS OF
MARLBOROUGH.

August 5th, 1709.

The contrary winds hinder me from the pleasure of hearing from you. We should have marched this day but for a proposition Monsieur de Saville has made to Prince Eugene and myself, of sending

an officer to Paris for the obtaining of the King's leave for the surrendering of the citadel the 5th of the next month, in case they are not relieved before that time. We have given a pass to the officers, so that we are to have an answer by the 8th.

I should be glad the King would approve of their proposition, since it will save the lives of a great many men, and we can't hope to take it much sooner; and if he consents, I think it is a sign he will have peace, for this is the strongest place he has.

We drank your health yesterday at Lady Albemarle's, who is come to her government at Tournay, with which they are extremely pleased, which makes me reflect on the changes of this life. After having been favourite to a King of England, I should not find much pleasure in the command of a single town; but all happiness depends upon one's temper, so that I am glad they are pleased with it, for I wish them very well. Mr. Collins and two Dutch posts are this minute arrived, so that I have the pleasure of yours of the 15th and 17th from Saint Albans, and in that of the 22nd, by Mr. Collins, is enclosed the two letters of 78 (Maynwaring) and 16. What they contain is very reasonable, but nobody is better able to judge how practicable their desires are than yourself. It is most certain that Lord Treasurer, myself, and yourself, have no real credit, so that if any measures are to be kept, it must be that

of outward appearances, which, if it be thought worth while, will certainly at last get the better. If Halifax, Somers, Sunderland, and the Duke of Newcastle continue firm to Lord Treasurer and me, they must first be convinced that our power is nothing but what can be made by measures to be taken. My opinion is that, when this is understood, the greatest part of the Whigs will join with 208 (Harley) and Mrs. Masham, who for some time will carry on the business, but at last will put everything in confusion.

I believe what your sister writes you has been the language in France, however I think their necessities will oblige them to submit.

I have prescribed to myself a rule how I should be glad to govern myself for the future with the Queen, but I shall determine nothing positively till I have the opinion and comment of yourself and Lord Treasurer, which I think must be deferred till I have the pleasure of being with you.

THE DUKE OF MARLBOROUGH TO THE DUCHESS OF
MARLBOROUGH.

August 19th, 1709.

I have received the pleasure of your kind letter of the 30th, and the other of the 2nd. I do with

great truth assure you that my only solid joy is that I think the time is drawing near in which I may live with you ; but for an entire quietness, I believe ~~this~~ is not to be expected, as you will see by a paper I have writ to 38 (Lord Godolphin), which I desire may not be seen by any but yourself and the Queen. It is necessary that she should see it, that she might be prepared, if possible, that I might not be obliged to sign what I think so very prejudicial to England, and what may meet with such accidents as may prove very troublesome to all those that have given the advice. For it is most certain that 14 (Lord Townshend) does not judge right in that matter ; for as soon as they have obtained their desires in the barrier, they can have no other thoughts or interests but that of making the peace as soon as possible. I dare not write what I think is reasonable on this subject, since our best friends will think that I am partial to Austria ; but I call God to witness that my concern proceeds from the love I have for the interest of my country, and my concern for such of my friends as are now in the ministry. I shall say very little to you concerning 42's (the Queen) letter, which was by no means obliging : but if you can't regain her affections, that matter will continue as it now is. I would go upon all fours to make it easy between you ; but for credit I am satisfied I have none, so that willingly I would not expose myself, but meddle as little as possible.

I believe the resolution of 28 (D. of Shrewsbury) is to live civilly with everybody that makes any advances to him, so that there may be civility between him and 199 (Harley); but he has too much experience to think Harley can do him any good at court, whilst 38 (Godolphin) and 39 (Marlborough) are there, unless they assist him, for he is too proud to make court to 256 (Mrs. Masham). I have heard nothing from Mr. Craggs.

THE DUKE OF MARLBOROUGH TO THE DUCHESS OF
MARLBOROUGH.

August 22nd, 1709.

Since my last, I have had yours by Mr. Coote, who came to the army last night. I see by it that the Queen continues her cold and unkind proceedings towards you: that must be, so long as Mrs. Masham has the opportunities of being daily with her. I agree with you that ill nature and forgetfulness give just reason to complain, though I am most concerned for us not to trouble ourselves any further than what may concern the public good. It is impossible for me, by writing to give you all the reasons that I have for the method I have prescribed to myself as soon as there shall be peace; and which I hope you will approve of, since it is the only method in which I can enjoy any happiness. Be

obliging and kind to all my friends, and avoid entering into cabals, and whatever I have in this world, if that can give you any satisfaction, you shall always be mistress of, and have the disposing of that and me.

Lord Treasurer will give you an account of a letter I have sent this post to Mr. Secretary, which I received this day from the Duc d'Albe and Comte de Berwick.

The letters of the fifth are this minute come, so that I have no time to read the letters you send me before I despatch the post, so that you shall have my answer by the next.

THE DUKE OF MARLBOROUGH TO THE DUCHESS OF
MARLBOROUGH.

August 26th, 1709.

I received yours of the 5th so very late that it was impossible for me to make you any answer by that post. I must own to you that the Queen's letter is very far from having anything that looks like the least tenderness. It helps to confirm me in the resolution I have taken; and I am very confident, when I have an opportunity of giving you and the Queen my reasons, that both of you will agree to the method of my future behaviour.

The letter you were advised to write is very rea-

sonable ; but since the Queen has not the consideration she formerly had for you and me, what good effect can you expect from it? It has been always my observation in disputes, especially in that of kindness and friendship, that all reproaches, though never so reasonable, do serve to no other end but the making the breach the wider. I can't hinder being of opinion, how insignificant soever we may be, that there is a power above which puts a period to our happiness or unhappiness ; otherwise, should anybody eight years ago have told me, after the success I have had, and your twenty-seven years' faithful services, that we should be obliged, even in the lifetime of the Queen, to seek happiness in a retired life, I should have thought it impossible.

The Pensioner writes to me that he expects an answer to his letter to Monsieur de Torcy by Friday next. We shall then probably see if we may expect peace this winter, which I flatter myself we shall have.

I have this afternoon received a letter from Prince Meneckoffe, favourite and general to the Czar, of the entire victory over the Swedes. If this unfortunate King had been so well advised as to have made peace the beginning of this summer, he might, in a great measure, have influenced the peace between France and the Allies, and have made his kingdom happy, whereas now he is entirely in the power of his neighbours.

MR. MAYNWARING TO THE DUCHESS OF
MARLBOROUGH.

Sept. 9 or 10., 1709, Friday Afternoon.

I most humbly thank your Grace for the honour of your letter which I have just received. I am glad you had a conversation with 13 (D. of Somerset), because how unreasonable soever men are, 'tis always best to have things explained among people that ought to live well together, and I believe there is no ill-will to 240 (you); but I wonder he should insinuate as if I had mistook what he told me, or as if he thought I should not have repeated it. For the first, 'tis very strange if I did mistake him, for I have heard him repeat the same thing twenty times: for the second, if anybody thinks to tell me what they would not have you know, they will be deceived in me extremely. But I am as far from leading any person into that error, that I never omitted any occasion that was not very improper of saying (as I have often done to his Grace) that I always acquaint you with everything I know; and if, after that, they say what they would not have you hear, it is their fault, and not mine. And I told him on Saturday that I hoped you and he would talk together, and come to a right understanding (those last words are ill applied to him);

but I found he received me coldly. And all this matter proceeds from asking about his being dissatisfied with 38 (Godolphin) and 39 (Marlborough). And it is certain nothing can be so ridiculous as the situation he is in at court. For a man that has no talents to do any one thing in the world, to think that he is to do everything, and to have all preferences pass through his hands, is something so much out of the way, that it is hard to find a name for it. But people that are good for nothing in any party, when they are encouraged to make a break and division, think from that time that they are the only useful people ; and a great many have fancied themselves, and have really been made considerable, for that awkward ungrateful service, whose merits otherwise would never have been found out. But his saying at last he was not sorry I told you, makes me laugh, because I know he desired I should tell you till lately that he has grown outrageous against 38 (Godolphin), for hindering his project of being a great man at court. I think what you said to him at parting was very right and reasonable ; * and that, after what Mrs. Morley has done, it is impossible for you to desire to be upon any other footing than you are now ; and that if it is to be otherwise,

* "This proves that the letter was written after the great quarrel with the Queen in 1709, or the fresh break in April, 1710. Lord W. landed in England, 9th Sept., 1709."—*Coxe*.

the reparation is to be made on her side, which I should think it concerns some people to consider and bring about.

You judged very right that 13's (D. of Somerset) not promising you to say anything to 42 (the Queen), proceeded from his finding you would not make use of him, and his gravity at first arose from nothing but his fear of that.

* * * * *

I have heard to-day that my Lord and Lady Wharton are landed.* They have left a bad character behind them, and it is certain that my Lord is not equal to such a post. He would make a very good miner† in an army, to work under ground at a siege, but he is by no means

* Lord Wharton was sent as Lord Lieutenant to Ireland in 1709.

† "This contemptuous invective against Lord Wharton is very singular, considering that he was one of the great bulwarks of the Whig party, whom both the Duchess and Mr. Maynwaring considered as the saviour of the nation from Jacobite and Tory influence. This letter was probably written in 1709, as Lord Wharton returned to Ireland in April, 1710, and most probably came from Ireland in 1709 to head a Parliament. This letter is very curious when we consider that it is written with so much contempt and invective against the Duke of Somerset, and according with the sentiments which the Duchess then entertained against that nobleman; and at the same time reflect that he afterwards made a proposal of marriage to the Duchess a few months after she became a widow, and in consequence rose in her esteem and confidence. It is likewise no less singular that many of the prior papers to that period, written by the Duchess, are filled with contemptuous expressions of the Duke, which she afterwards took great pains to erase from her narrative."—*Cove*.

fit to be a General ; and I know not how it happens that, from the beginning of the world to this day, it was hardly ever known that any one was called to govern a kingdom, either as principal or deputy, that was extremely fit for the office.

MR. MAYNWARING TO THE DUCHESS OF
MARLBOROUGH.

Wednesday Morning.*

Mr. Walpole says, that Mr. Darti has fixed the Duke of Marlborough in a right mind, and the inclosed paper of reasons, especially the last of them, did all the business ; and he desired your Grace might see them, as an instance of Mr. Darti's diligence and great ability. Then follows about the Duke and Duchess of Newcastle parting with a regiment, and Mr. Sutton's gratitude, who wishes to sell his own regiment, or obtaining the rank of brigadier in the army of Flanders, &c.

The Duke of Queensbury sent this morning to ask to speak with me. He began by saying he was a little surprised and concerned at a report he had just heard, that there was some jealousy of himself and Lord Marlborough, and, his other friends, occasioned by the late marriage with Mr.

* Perhaps about the end of August or beginning of Sept., 1709.

Harley's daughter ; * and he begged me, as an old acquaintance, to tell him freely what I had heard of that matter. I told him I would not deny, but that I had heard some of his friends were in some of Mr. Harley's secrets, but that I had never found much credit was given to it ; and that I believed Mr. Harley himself had endeavoured to put about that scandal. Upon which he made a world of pretensions, that he never had nor would have any interest but that of the Duke of Marlborough, Lord Treasurer, and your Grace ; and that if Lord Treasurer was out to-morrow, he would quit his employment. That he offered to do it with the Duke of Somerset, when the dispute was about Mr. Harley. That no scheme without them could last three months. That, of all men living, he would not be in business with Lord Rochester, whose humour was insupportable. That, for what concerned this match, he was so far from approving it, that he really had a design to marry the young man to Lady Clifford's daughter. That my Lord Marlborough, as soon as he knew of it, had persuaded the father to carry the son in to Scotland ; but that he liked the woman and would not be governed. That it was a match purely of interest, and projected when it was thought Mr. Harley had

* Lord Duplin married Abigail, second daughter of Robert Harley, August 11, 1709.

power with Lord Treasurer, in order to get an arrear that they claim upon the customs. That, of all the Ladies he ever saw, he had most service and even inclination for your Grace ; and that it had troubled him extremely to have been so often at your lodgings without having seen you. That Lord Seafield,* who he knew was admitted, was the greatest rogue alive. That my Lady Hide was the most idle creature living, but so very necessitous, that she was to be pitied, and that it was certain her wants would make her do any thing to help herself. That for his own part, if he did not always serve Lord Marlborough and Lord Treasurer, or if ever he did serve them in that, I should call him as long as I live a knave and a fool.

My brother Harley† came to me as soon as his Grace was gone, and having this matter of the marriage fresh in my thoughts, I could not help inquiring of him about it, who confirmed what the other had said, and told me the Scotch Lord, the father,‡ had been his client some years ago, and Mr. Guedot the auditor. And that the marriage articles were ready to be signed the day before Mr. Harley was turned out ; and that he had fairly told his client that his brother would be out of his employment the

* James Ogilvy, Earl of Seafield, son of the Earl of Findlater.

† Under Secretary Harley.

‡ Because he was also auditor.—He was Earl of Kinnoul.

next day ; upon which there was some stop ; but the young man had a liking to his mistress, and would not leave her. That the original design was to get the arrear of the customs.

I can only observe, upon this tedious history, that your Grace's speaking to Lord Marr, has done much good, and alarmed the whole Scotch nation ; so that if they had any dark projects, they will be afraid to pursue them. I had the honour to see Lord Treasurer this afternoon, but I went with Mr. Smith, who told me he returned to-morrow morning. I forgot one thing the Duke of Queensbury said, which was remarkable, that he liked my Lord Sunderland extremely in his office, in which he was quite another man than in his politics, (which is very true)* and that if he were to choose, as he hoped to be saved, he would rather have to do with him in any kind, than with his own brother Boyle.†.

THE DUKE OF MARLBOROUGH TO THE DUCHESS OF
MARLBOROUGH.

September 7th, 1709.

The letters from England of the 17th are come, but I had not the satisfaction of any from you. In

* "Singular assertion for Mr. Maynwaring to make to the Duchess."
—*Coxe*.

† The Duke of Queensbury married a daughter of the Earl of Burlington, and therefore sister of Mr. Secretary Boyle.

my last you may see that yours of the 14th gives me great uneasiness, for the only prospect that is left me of happiness is that at all times, I might with freedom let you know my thoughts, for as we have but one interest, so my happiness depends upon our having but one mind. It is not fit that any body but yourself should know that I have just reason to be convinced that the Queen has been made jealous of my power, so that I have resolved not only to convince her, but all the world, that I have no ambition, and at the same time to be careful not to be in the power of villains, nor even of the Queen.

It is impossible to explain this in writing, but I am fully convinced of the truth; so that it is very hard for any body to judge what may be proper for my behaviour but myself and you that shall know the truth. In the mean time you may live in the manner which you may find most easy to yourself; for no behaviour of yours or mine can ever create any tender concern in the Queen for us. This villainy has been insinuated by Mrs. Masham by the instigation of Harley, who certainly is the worst of men.

I have this afternoon received yours of the 18th, with the enclosed letters of Lord Marr and Lord Sunderland's. I never doubted but he was of the

opinion of 14 (Lord Townshend). I do with all my heart wish they may be in the right and I mistaken.

I am so little desirous of having any thing governed by my opinion, that I have begged Lord Godolphin to be of their opinion, and as you have an opportunity I should be glad you would let Lord Sunderland know, that I do submit in that matter; but as a good Englishman, I can never think it reasonable or wise to let them have Dendemonid or Ostend, if we have any consideration for our trade in Flanders, or what goes from thence to Germany.

THE DUKE OF MARLBOROUGH TO THE DUCHESS OF
MARLBOROUGH.

Malplaquet, Sept. 11, 1709. (N.S.)

I am obliged to you for the account you give me of the building of Blenheim, in yours of the 21st, and the further account you intend me after the Duke and Duchess of Shrewsbury have seen what is done. You will see by my former letters, as well as by this, that I can take pleasure in nothing as long as you continue uneasy and think me unkind. I do assure you, upon my honour and salvation, that the only reason why I did not write was, that I am very sure it would have had no other effect than that of being shown to Mrs. Masham, by which she

would have had an opportunity of turning it as she pleased, so that when I shall speak to the Queen of their harsh behaviour to you, they would have been prepared. I beg you to be assured, that if ever I see the Queen, I shall speak to them just as you would have me, and that all the actions of my life shall make the Queen, as well as all the world, sensible that you are dearer to me than life, for I am fonder of my happiness than of my own life, which I cannot enjoy unless you are kind. Having writ thus far, I have received intelligence that the French were on their march to attack us. We immediately got ourselves ready, and marched to a post at some distance from our camp. We came in presence between two and three o'clock yesterday in the afternoon, but as there were several between us, we only cannonaded each other. They have last night entrenched their camp, by which they show plainly that they have changed their mind, and will not attack us, so that we must take our measures in seeing which way we can be most troublesome to them.

This afternoon the brigade, which made the siege of Tournay, will join us, and then we shall have all the troops we can expect, for those we have left for the blocking up of Mons must continue where they are. I do not yet know whether I shall have an opportunity of sending this letter to-night ; if not I

shall add to it what may pass to-morrow, in the mean time, I can't hinder saying to you, that though the fate of Europe, if these armies engage, may depend upon the good or bad success, yet your uneasiness gives me much greater trouble.

I am so tired that I have but strength enough to tell you that we have had this day a very bloody battle, the first part of the day we beat their foot, and afterwards their horse. God Almighty be praised, it is now in our power to have what peace we please, and I may be pretty well assured of never being in another battle; but nothing in this world can make me happy if you are not kind.

MR. MAYNWARING TO THE DUCHESS OF
MARLBOROUGH.

Monday Morning, 1709.

I would not trouble your Grace with this letter, but that I think it will be impossible for me to speak to you to-day, which several of your friends desired me yesterday to do. Prince Eugene's being named in the address,* was the whole subject

* This seems to refer to the city address delivered to the Queen on the 10th of September, wherein the Duke and Prince Eugene were named together. The date of the letter must in this case be, September 12, 1709.

of discourse yesterday at St. James's, and was treated with more warmth than such matters use to be; and some lords that certainly mean well, having been informed, as I suppose by Lord Halifax, that your Grace had expressed your dissatisfaction at it, wished that anybody would beg of you not to say any more of it, since now it could not be helped, and in most cases it is better to seem to take what cannot be amended; and so far I am of their opinion. Lord Halifax was mightily nettled at what you said to him, and the rather because he had shewed your Grace and Lord Treasurer the copy of it, without your expressing any dislike; from whence he assumed that it had arisen since from somebody's insinuation and flattery; upon which I took occasion to assure him that I had neither seen nor writ to you, till after your conversation with his Lordship. He said then it must be somebody else, and that he was satisfied no flattery could be too gross to pass (instancing in the medal), but that they *should* write the next address themselves for him. This is what I came to tell your Grace last night, which, if I could have done—(*unfinished*).

LORD HALIFAX TO THE DUCHESS OF MARLBOROUGH.

Hampton Court, Sept. 6th, O. S., 1709.

If I knew when I could wait on your Grace, I should not have taken this way of making my compliments to you upon this glorious action of the Duke of Marlborough. As this battle has been most obstinate and bloody, I cannot but think the victory will prove the most complete, and the finishing stroke.

No man ever had such a course of steady and wonderful prosperity as appears in all my Lord Marlborough's life, which could never happen but to extraordinary abilities and merit. Now I hope, Madam, you will soon see him return with peace as well as victory, and that you may long enjoy one another with all the happiness and blessings which a Queen which he has honoured and a nation which he has saved can give; and with a comfort which is beyond all this, a consciousness to yourself that you have been the happy instrument of advancing and recommending to the Queen this man, who, from that rise, has made himself the first figure in Europe, and done such great things for his mistress, for his country, and all Christendom.

Madam, I cannot help taking notice, with pleasure, that I thought the last time I had the honour to wait upon you, I was much better received

than I had been for some time. I assure you that was no small satisfaction to me ; for when you are two or three victories short of your present greatness, I know no greater happiness than the having some place in your favour and regard.

THE DUKE OF MARLBOROUGH TO THE DUCHESS OF
MARLBOROUGH.

Sept. 13, 1709.

Since my last, I have had the happiness of yours of the 24th, from Althorp, where, with all my soul, I wish I was myself. Ever since the 11th, I have every minute the account of the killed and wounded, which grieves my heart, the numbers being considerable ; for in this battle the French were more *opiniatre* than in any other of this war. I hope and believe it will be the last I shall see ; for I think it impossible for the French to continue the war. I have been so extremely heated that all my limbs are sore, which makes me very uneasy. We are now returned back to our camp, in order to make the siege of Mons, so that after to-morrow I shall hope for some rest, and then you will have from me much longer letters. In the mean time let me assure you of being with all my heart and soul yours.

THE DUKE OF MARLBOROUGH TO THE DUCHESS OF
MARLBOROUGH.

Sept. 16, 1709.

I have not yet recovered the fatigue of the battle and the two days and two nights in which I had very little sleep, so that my mouth is very sore, and my blood so heated, that I have a continual headache. My Lord Marr * is here, and has desired me to write to Lord Treasurer that he may have leave to travel this winter, he believing that this battle will make all things go so easy this winter that he shall not be missed. Tho' this should not be true, I am so inclined to oblige anybody that I have any esteem for, that I hope the Queen will give him leave. The Venetian Ambassador came here yesterday, so that he had the satisfaction of hearing all the cannon and the whole army fire three times for the late victory. My headache will be an excuse for my ending my letter with assuring you that, whilst I have a being in this world, my heart and soul is yours.

* John, Earl of Marr, who was Secretary of State for Scotland in 1706 ; he afterwards joined the Pretender, was concerned in the rebellion of 1715, and attainted, and the title was restored only in 1825, by George IV., to a descendant of his younger brother.

THE DUKE OF MARLBOROUGH TO THE DUCHESS OF
MARLBOROUGH.

Sept. 19, 1709.

I am in expectation of two posts from England, having had none since the 26th. I do what I can to recover my health ; but as it is impossible to have quiet, my blood continues very hot, which gives me inclination to drink the spaa-waters for five or six days. As I have resolved to write a letter to the Queen before the end of this campaign, I intend to send you a copy by the next post, so that you may add what you may wish me to say. I would have you advise with nobody but Mr. Montgomery, and, if he approves of it, with Lord Sunderland ; but nobody else must see my letter. I should be glad you would return it by the following post, so that I may have it in my power of sending it as occasion shall offer.

I am, with all my heart and soul, yours.

THE DUKE OF MARLBOROUGH TO THE DUCHESS OF
MARLBOROUGH.

Sept. the 23d, N. S., 1709.

The enclosed is the copy of what I intend to write, when it has been corrected. I should be glad there might be no time lost in returning it, for this

campaign can't well last longer than the end of the next month, and I should send it before I leave the field. Your last was from Althorpe ; I hope we may be there together next summer, for the place and company will both be very agreeable to me ; and I fancy there will be so much disorder at Blenheim that we shall not have much pleasure in being there till the next year, and then I hope we may fix for the little time I may have yet to live. I propose to make my court to you this winter, by being very much pleased with the very great advance you have made in your building at London. I am afraid I shall not have time to thank my Lord Sunderland for his of the 27th : it being writ at the same time you were there, I do not doubt but he shewed it to you. His reasoning is very good, and I wish it may all happen as he desires. I am sure nobody would venture more than myself for the keeping a good correspondence between England and Holland ; for I think, without it, we are all undone. But to that end we must not pretend to make a blackamore white, which I take the business of the Barrier to be. But I see that my Lord Somers, and Lord Halifax, and all our friends think it practicable, so that I hope at last Lord Townshend will be able to bring it to a happy conclusion.

MR. WALPOLE TO THE DUCHESS OF
MARLBOROUGH.

Houghton, Oct. 18, 1709.

Madam,

'Tis so great a favour to be honoured with your Grace's commands, that I shall certainly, with the greatest readiness and satisfaction, take the first opportunity of obeying them, and do Mr. Barham the service that is in my power.

I have a very good character of him from his Colonel, and was acquainted that he had the happiness of being under your Grace's protection, which may still be of service to him, in spite of Abigail, if you will behave as you should do: I ask your Grace's pardon for that expression, for Maynwaring saith you do; and if you can hold it, I could say you are very good. I am a very impertinent fellow, but with all imaginable respect and duty, yours.

MR. MAYNWARING TO THE DUCHESS OF
MARLBOROUGH.

Thursday Evening,* 1709.

Your Grace will perceive by the enclosed, that my design on 5 (Lord Somers) took effect. He came

* This letter seems to have been written shortly before the appointment of the Board of the Admiralty, in which case the date may be Thursday, Oct. 27, or Nov. 3.

to my lodgings this morning, with a good humour and frankness that surprised me. He told me everything that had passed between him and Lord Godolphin, before and since he came into business. He said there was nothing he would not tell me; upon which I gave him an account of the reason I had to desire to speak with him, which was that I had heard that his friends were so dissatisfied about the business of the Admiralty, that they talked of quitting their employments. I will not trouble you with the wise reasons I gave him against that; nor with what I said of the impossibility they would find ever to recover any credit with 42 (the Queen) after such a step as that. He protested if that should now happen, it would be against his will; and that even in that case, he would continue, as far as he could, to support 38 (Godolphin,) and 39 (Marlborough), because he was convinced that if they were ever removed from the Queen, worse men in every respect would have all the power, who would bring in the Prince of Wales and popery. He did then run over all the schemes and turns that it was possible for 38 and 39 to go into; and he seemed to think they could not propose any safety but in the Whigs. I told him what I think to be true, that I verily believed they had no thoughts of ever returning to the Tories, that I have heard them both declare it, and that for his Lordship's part, I did not verily think they had a

particular esteem for him. He said he hoped it was so, but that he had been tried by more people than one ; that 240 (Duchess of Marlborough) had railed at him extremely, and had wondered what he could pretend to, in thinking to direct and impose upon 38 (Godolphin) and 39 (Marlborough), from the first moment he came into business. Upon this I did burst into a laughter, and I asked him if he was in earnest. He said, yes. Why then, said I, my Lord I do assure you, I know that ever since this reign, 240 (the Duchess) has been labouring to bring you into the Government ; that 240 has really been a martyr for you and for your friends ; that when you came into the court, I have heard 240 wish forty times, that you would be a domestic in their house ; that 240 has been a good deal concerned at your seeming coldness, and could not tell what to make of it.

He said he did receive a letter, which signified that 240 was then going to Windsor, where he designed to return his acknowledgments for it ; that he went twice in order to do it towards 240, who turned away both times and put him out of countenance. Why, said I, my Lord, this puts me in mind of the Comedy of Errors, where there is one perpetual mistake ; for, to my certain knowledge, 240 would rather converse with you upon any occasion, than with anybody I know. He said he was very

much pleased with what I said ; that he would wait upon you as soon as you returned, without taking the least notice of any mistake that had passed ; and that, if you could endure his company, he would take care for the future that you should never complain of the want of it. I asked him if he would have me say anything to your Grace ; he said he had nothing to recommend to you, but the affair of the Admiralty ; and he said a great many things that were mighty reasonable upon that subject, and upon the necessity of having the next session a good one, even if there should be a peace.

I never saw any one so little reserved that was thought to be so ; for, except yourself, nobody ever spoke so freely to me since I was born. He said he would live with me in a way of friendship that he had long wished, and which I cannot deserve. And I own of all my political plots, I never had one that did so well, nor that I expect so much good from. But I was extremely uneasy to think that you were neglected by one of so much consideration, and I should never have rested till I had brought that matter to what Mr. Ramsay calls an *eclaircissement*. For I had employed Walpole to bring me to him, and would have gone myself if all other ways had failed. There has been a good deal of dark villainy in giving him that impression of you, which some time or other I shall find out. I have received the honour of your letter to-day, for which I give you a

thousand thanks. I have *played the-tune* you mention so much and so long, that I have no time to write any more. God in heaven bless you.

Endorsed by the Duchess.—Notwithstanding all that Lord Somers said concerning me, by this account, 'tis certain that as soon as he got into his post, to obtain which I so often urged the Queen, he made his court to Abigail, and very seldom came to me; and it is as true that Lord Orford and St. John used to laugh in their cups, which came out by Duke Devonshire, that they had instructed the Queen to behave so as to make Lord Somers think he should be her chief minister. She could act a part very well, when her lesson was given her; and in a little time it appeared very plain to the Duke of Marlborough and Lord Godolphin that Lord Somers thought of nothing so much as to flatter the Queen, and went to her perpetually in private; and whatever was to be said to her upon the subject, that she did not like, he contrived it so as to have Lords Marlborough and Godolphin do that; and when the council was entirely changed, and for shame he could not continue, if the tories would have suffered him, to my certain knowledge, he went to wait upon the Queen, at Kensington, which at that time he would not have done, if he had not thought he was much in her favour, and that some time or other he might get by it.

MR. MAYNWARING TO THE DUCHESS OF
MARLBOROUGH.

1709.*

What your Grace says in your letter, which I had the honour to receive to-day by the post, that tho'

* This letter was written before the appointment of the Admiralty Commission, probably at the end of October, 1709.

what you write and say does not cure 42's (the Queen) passion, yet it certainly keeps it from being turned in a disagreeable way, I freely believe that nothing else has made her leave Kensington so soon ; and I could not help laughing when I heard the reason she gave for it, which was, that she found that place was colder than Windsor. I will make you such an extract as you mention of what is said in that vile book of her Abigail and Harley,* by that time you come to town. But I desire you not to trouble or concern yourself of what is said of 240 (the Duchess), 'tis all old and incredible stuff of extortion and affairs with 38 (Godolphin), and 28 (Duke of Shrewsbury), which not a soul living believes a word of ; and there is one scene which I think you could hardly help laughing at ; which is, when 240 (the Duchess) is going to be pulled to pieces by the mob, for all manner of ill done to 42 (the Queen), and to England, generous Hilaria sends a troop of guards to rescue her. I have done nothing but run about all this day to hear or do something about the disagreeable stop in the commission ;† and now Walpole has sent to ask me to come to speak with him and Sir J. Jennings

* The second volume of the *New Atlantis*, by Mrs. Manley, published in 1709 ; the first volume had appeared in 1708. This book, under the garb of a fabulous history, is filled with the most scandalous and shameful libels upon the great people of the day, that can possibly be imagined. It was dedicated to the Duke of Beaufort.

† For the new Board of Admiralty.

which makes me end sooner than I would. I am very glad to hear that you will be in town on Sunday.

MR. MAYNWARING TO THE DUCHESS OF
MARLBOROUGH.

Saturday, past one o'clock, 1709.

I never regretted any pains I took to give your Grace any information you wanted, till this morning, which I have wasted in reading the nauseous book which Duck mentioned. But her concern was not altogether for you, for she was stung to find herself so deep in it, for Lord Marlborough. She was extremely impertinent in writing to you about it; and your answer was perfectly right. And without ever thinking more of it, pray believe me, that there is not a word in it relating to 240 (the Duchess), but very old, false, and incredible scandal. And what the dialogue between the two sisters is, does not appear as yet. The license of the press is too great, and I hope some proper way may be found to restrain it this winter; but I would not have the rise taken from this trifling book, which, as you observe truly, would only make it spread more. It must be a rare piece, where the favourite characters are Abigail, Mr. Harley, and Lord Peterborough. What is said of the first, I hope will make you

laugh as it did me.* Hilaria (that's her name) is wedded to all the virtues ; has a soul fitted for grandeur ; a capacious repository for the confidence of royal favour. It is a fine style, by the way. She not only wears, but loves the holy robe of religion ; her wit, her judgment, is like her soul, of the finest mould. Placed by good fortune in the eye of favour, *whence only her own merit*, and her sovereign's *capacity of judging well of merit*, distinguished her. Happy in a mistress deserving such a favourite ; her mistress happy in a favourite deserving to be such. (She seems I think here to take the place of her mistress). Judge further of this stupid book, by what is said of Mr. Harley : speaking of Don Geronimo de Haro (as the fool calls him) he begins his character thus : he was honest ! he was brave. Could any one but an idiot call him honest, in a good sense ? But he goes on delightfully. Don Geronimo made his application to Hilaria ; his assiduity arising from his awful esteem of her thousand virtues. He felt their generous warmth in his own breast, and from thence adored them in hers : she could not be *ungrateful*, (no not she, poor soul !) her fine sense and judgment did Don Geronimo's

* The passages here alluded to, are in the second volume of the New Atlantis, pp. 147, 148.

justice : from mutual admiration they grew to mutual esteem and confidence. The royal Olympia (42) permitted them to have a share in the *sweets of her appropriated hours*. Don Haro upon a nearer approach, perceived a *depth of judgment, a capacity of government, a true and surprising taste of politics in the Princess, &c.*

Such a book as this can only be fit to be laughed at ; but those greater wretches, the nobles that encourage it, deserve the punishment which Augustus gave the author of a libel ; in which, as the history says, the reputation of several excellent persons of both sexes were prejudiced. He did shut him up in an Island, where he was forbid the use of fire and water, and died unpitied. And an author giving an account of him, says, he was a damned soul, and that those who resemble him, in every age, deserve to die as miserable. But such weak slanderers as these, do not so much defame their enemies, as they hurt their friends. For, as Scaliger says, there is an art even of slandering, without some knowledge of which, nobody succeeds in it. Yet I am afraid it will be very difficult quite to cure the mischief ; for so long as people will buy such books, there will always be vile printers ready to publish them : and low indigent writers will never be wanting for such a work. However, to conclude, in the Duke's

words, the best incendiary I never can forgive, as a friend to justice, as well as most unfeignedly yours. I think the not opening the letter that brought the news of Mons, shews as much stupidity (in little), and worthlessness in all kinds, as most instances that I have ever heard.

My opinion of the old Vice* is this, that you should either see him just civilly, and no more; or somebody else should have his place, which is the more reasonable. And he is much alarmed at the last conversation he had with me, and thrusts himself more into company than he used to do, and is more civil, particularly to Lord Wharton and me; and when he had heard from Mr. Mawle, that it was possible Lord Treasurer would be the other day at a tavern

* * * * *

THE DUCHESS OF MARLBOROUGH TO QUEEN ANNE.†

1709.

I am very thankful for the favour of dear Mrs. Morley's letter, and for the profession at the end of it, which deserves more acknowledgements than I can express; and if you shall dislike anything I

* Peregrine Bertie, the Vice Chamberlain.

† "This letter seems to be a reply to one from the Queen, in which Her Majesty *prays to God to open your eyes.*"—Coxe.

am going to say in answer to it, I hope you will continue to forgive me, for since I wrote to you only as a friend, it is impossible for me to say the least word that I don't think. You are pleased to say that you doubt not but I wondered very much that you were so long without taking notice of my letter; indeed, I was in hopes either to have heard from you sooner, or that since you took so much time about it, that you would have been pleased to have given a more particular answer to several things that I mentioned, and especially that you would have convinced me that I was in the wrong as to what I said of the power that Abigail had with you. But since you pass that quite over, I can't help renewing my request that you will explain without the trouble of writing a long answer to this, what it is that prevails with you to oppose the advice of all your old servants and councils,—if it be not that woman, and those that apply to you by her. What is all this struggle to form an insignificant party, who have undertaken to carry her up to a great pitch of greatness, from which she will deserve to be thrown down in a fortnight with infamy? These men are the friends that you told me you had somewhere. Why did some people in your service ride lately about from her to Mr. Harley's, at London, and thence to ——,* in the country, and so again to London, as if they rode

* Erased,—seems to be the Duke of Somerset.

post all the while, but about some great scheme, which I dare say would make the world merry if it were known? And I can't help taking notice that it was much about this time when Lord Haversham was introduced to you, so that I take it for granted that he was an undertaker in this good work, whom yourself have so often heard revile your government in the House of Lords. But it looks as if nobody were too scandalous to be countenanced, that would but apply to this new favourite, to whom, it is said, his Lordship would have gone directly from you, but that he unfortunately mistook the room and went to Mrs. Cowper. I can't imagine what your Majesty meant by the ill opinion which I have of you, unless it be that I have the misfortune to differ with you, which I must own I have done very much; for I always thought just as I do now, that those that persecuted you when Princess were not likely to serve you well when you were Queen, and that you might much more safely rely on men that were really for the Church and present government, than on others that only pretend to be for one, and are really against the other; and this was all I ever differed in. Though now, indeed, we differ about another thing, which is, that I think you are influenced by this favourite, to do things that are directly against your own interest and safety; and you seem to think that

there is nothing of all this, and therefore I will take the liberty to tell you why I think it is so at present, and what it is that would make me think otherwise. I think the first, because every day shews that you don't hear my Lord Marlborough and Lord Godolphin as you used to do, and I can hardly believe that even now any men have more credit with you than they have; therefore who can it be but this woman, for you see nobody else. And to shew you that I am not alone of this opinion, if I should ask the first ordinary man that I met, what had caused so great a change in you, he would say that the reason was because you were grown very fond of Mrs. Masham, and were governed by those that govern her. And now because you pray to God to open my eyes, I will say how you may do that yourself, if you please; by living with your old faithful servants as you used to do, and hearkening to the advice of your faithful ministers and council, for this would open my eyes and everybody's else. And, indeed, I can't help thinking that it would be better to change your ministry quite, and to have another General and Treasurer, and to let Mrs. Masham's creatures govern as long as they can; or else to be informed and advised by those in your chief employments, and convince the world that this lady has no more to do than any other bed-chamber

woman. And this I can't but think would be a better resolution than pursuing any other project, especially that of dividing the Whigs, which you may easily apprehend would be very dangerous at this time, since my Lord Marlborough, who you know is no warm friend of theirs, is so much against it. But Mr. Harley liked it, as the best means of giving him another opportunity to do mischief, and of setting up his handmaid, and of bringing all the worthless men in the kingdom into your service. I had almost forgot to tell you of a new book that is come out; the subject is ridiculous, and the book not well written, but that looks so much the worse, for it shews that the notion is extensively spread among all sorts of people. It is a dialogue between Madame Maintenon and Madam Masham, in which she thanks her for her good endeavours to serve the King of France here, and seems to have great hopes of her, from her promising beginnings and her friendship for Mr. Harley; and there is stuff not fit to be mentioned of passions between women, and a long account of that Lady's famous amour with Mr. Chudd, managed by Lady Newport. Some part of that I knew to be true, but I will not trouble you longer upon so disagreeable a subject.

The woman that has been put upon writing it, and the printer, have been in custody, and are now

under prosecution. It has appeared that she kept correspondence with two of the favourite persons in the book, my Lord Peterborough and Mr. Harley, and I think it is to be suspected that she may have had some dealing with Mrs. Masham, who is called Hilaria. She says, "that she loved and understood letters, introduced, nay applauded, the ingenious, and did always her endeavour to make them taste of the royal bounty." This is in the book. The favourite characters are your Majesty, Mrs. Masham, my Lord Peterborough, and Mr. Harley; and I am sure everybody will allow that is very good attendance, in which I, and Lord Marlborough, and almost everybody I know are abused, except Mrs. Masham, Lord Peterborough, and Mr. Harley. Speaking of her, it begins thus:—"She had a soul fitted for grandeur, a capacious repository for the confidence of royal favour; she had the good fortune to be placed in the eye of favour, whence only her own merit, and sovereign's capacity of well judging merit, distinguished her; happy in a mistress deserving such a favourite, her mistress, in a favourite deserving to be such."*

I think in this part she is made to take the place

* The Duchess takes the account of this book, which she seems not to have read, almost word for word from that which had been sent her by Maynwaring. She speaks, however, with more certainty of the author, whom Maynwaring had supposed to be a man.

of your Majesty, and then it goes on, and gives an account in these following words :—"That Don something, who is Mr. Harley, made his applications with assiduity to Mrs. Masham, arising from the awful esteem he had of her thousand virtues, he felt the generous warmth in his own breast, and from thence adored them in hers. She could not be ungrateful ;" (no, poor soul, not she !) "her fine sense and judgement did Mr. Harley justice ; from mutual admiration they grew to mutual esteem and confidence ; and your Majesty, who is called the Royal Olympia, permitted them to have a share in the sweets of her appropriated hours."

Now, since the people find, by woful experience, that desire to support your government, that delays every day happen in things of the greatest consequence ; that this lady is your favourite, and that the Tories, in such simple books as they can get written and published, proclaim this great favourite to all the world ; I hope you will no longer think it a crime in me what you have formerly imputed for one, that I believed your Majesty allowed her great liberties ; or think I was the only person that discerned the private way of conversing with Mrs. Masham, since all that matter is now in print, and, notwithstanding the prosecution, I suppose sold at every shop.

Endorsed by the Duchess.—On a strange book, wrote to compliment Abigail, probably 1708 or 1709.

In the hand of the Duchess.—Copy to the Queen concerning a ridiculous book,—Mrs. Masham complimented in the character of Hilaria. Taken out of an infamous book, and it was said that Mrs. Masham had given the author money.

On the cover by the Duchess.—I wrote this to the Queen, hoping it would do good, when she would not own that she had any commerce with Mrs. Masham, but as a bed-chamber-woman.

DRAUGHT OF A LETTER FROM THE DUCHESS OF
MARLBOROUGH TO THE QUEEN.*

When I was last at Windsor, looking among my papers, I found a letter from my cousin Hill, in which she uses this expression to me :—"You are so far happy that your greatest enemies never reproached you either with want of sense or *sincerity*." She concludes with professions of her own sincerity, and that she is my most faithful servant. I have several letters under her hand to acknowledge that never any family had received such benefits as hers had done from me, which I will keep to shew

* It is in Mr. Maynwaring's hand; but it is imperfect, written probably in 1709, or early in 1710. On the publication of Mrs. Manley's book, the Duchess seems to have made several draughts of letters to the Queen, which were never sent.

the world what returns she has made for obligations that she was sensible of. Whether she then spoke the same language of me to your Majesty that she did to me, I can't tell; though I am apt to think that at first she did not rail at me, and got a footing by making you think that she loved you extremely, and was very sincere. But let that be as it will, I believe she has changed her note, as to me, a good while; and I think, notwithstanding the conclusion of her own letter, in which she professes so much sincerity, she has given sufficient demonstration that she has none. Since what she did in my lodgings and in my office for Abrahah, was begun at a time when she made those professions to me; and certainly nothing could be more foolish, as well as ungrateful, than to give it under her hand that she owed so much to me, and then publicly do what she ought to have been ashamed to have done in many particulars, though she had never been obliged to me.

But, after all this, your Majesty says this fine lady is the very reverse of what I take her to be. To which I can only answer, that she is the reverse of what I took her to be, or I had certainly never trusted her; and I do not at all question but when her master Harley has tutored her a little longer, if I do not die very soon, your Majesty and I shall

come to agree in our opinion of her, whatever we may do in other matters.

Though I cannot help congratulating your Majesty upon this occasion, and feeling a secret pride myself, that, as to the politics, we seem to be more of a mind already than I thought had been possible, since you have now taken into your service all the very same persons that, for your own ease and safety, I so long ago begged you to employ; so that we have no difference remaining now, that I know of, but about this most charming useful lady. And yet my only crime, at least that you are pleased to tell me of, is that I think you have an intimacy with her. Therefore, to shew that I am not singular in that opinion, I will transcribe a few passages out of a book * that is lately printed, which is a very unaccountable one, I must own.

Paper in the Duchess's hand.—Lord Rivers,† who robbed his father, lived out of England for some years for fear of being hanged, and has always gone by the name of Dick of Tyburn, and is allowed by all people to be a man that is capable of all manner of villainy. When a company of ill men have thoroughly exposed the Queen, it is thought she will see her errors, when it is too late, as her father did before her, and when it will not be in her power to help herself.

* Mrs. Manley's *New Atlantis*.

† The Earl of Rivers was appointed, in 1710, Governor of the Tower, to mortify the Duke of Marlborough. See *Coxe's Life of Marlborough*, vol. iii. p. 142. This paper, attached to the foregoing letter, seems to be misplaced.

Paper in the Duchess's hand.—When Mr. Walpole was Secretary at war, he represented things so honourably that the Ministers could not do wrong and unjust things to the Queen so quick as they did after Mr. Granville came into that post, and ordered it so that there was some sort of decency kept with my Lord Marlborough when the Queen made Mr. Hill and Mr. Masham, out of their turn, general officers ; and, upon my Lord Marlborough's compliance in that matter, she told Mr. Walpole she should be very sorry to do anything that could give pain to my Lord Marlborough.

MR. MAYNWARING TO THE DUCHESS OF
MARLBOROUGH.

1709. Monday Evening.

Soon after I came home from your Grace's lodgings, I had the honour of a visit from Lord Halifax, who had said yesterday that he would call upon me soon, if I would not be denied when he came. We had much discourse, and he was in good humour and not displeased with the appearing difficulties, supposing, as I guess, his own assistance might in time be thought necessary to overcome them. He says, if the business of the Admiralty be not set right, it will be impossible for Lord Somers to continue in his employment : and I thought the reason he gave for that was right ; that he, having been at the head of all the complaints upon that subject, could not, with any decency, nor without losing quite

his interest, continue in an employment whilst that which he found fault with continued in the same state which he had complained ; for that would look as if all was well when he had got an office. And he was of the same opinion with me, that Somers is in the utmost uneasiness, and that it is ridiculous to imagine that he is ever pleased at the same time that Sunderland is out of humour. Upon which, I could not help saying that, whoever Somers was displeased with, there was one that he ought always to respect, meaning 240 (Duchess of Marlborough) ; and yet I believe he had shewn some coldness there, which was the more wrong because it is certain 240 had been a martyr for him and his friends. He said Somers always had a cold reserved temper, which formerly had done great mischief to his own party ; and, in the main, he does not seem so fond of him as he used to be ; the reason of which I take to be, that he did not bring him in with himself. But there was nothing Lord Halifax enlarged so much upon as the present reports about 240 (Duchess of Marlborough) ; and he desired me to remember that he then foretold that, if that person and 42 (the Queen) were not soon upon better terms, Godolphin and the Duke of Marlborough would be ruined. And though he did not pretend to know much, yet he could easily see that the storm was gathering on all sides. He said it was commonly reported

that 240 made at Windsor an open complaint of having been worse used than 13 (D. of Somerset), or even the Bug ; * and that he thought was wrong.

I said, since the fact was so, I thought it was no matter how much it was known. But, I said, one thing seemed strange to me, that everybody was now of opinion that nothing would go well unless 240 (the Duchess) were in favour ; who, during the time of being in favour, had met with hardly anything but ingratitude and ill-usage. Upon which he said, that, for his own part, he valued two people more than anybody,—Lord Godolphin, to whom he was obliged, and 240 (the Duchess of Marlborough), for whom he had an inclination. How true that is, let others judge ; but he has certainly a mind it should be thought true.

MR. MAYNWARING TO THE DUCHESS OF
MARLBOROUGH.

[Imperfect.]

1709.

* * * * *

certain that nobody can do more good or harm than this Lord (Wharton?) ; and if one could understand what would fire or please him, it would be of great use. He was very pleasant upon some proposals

* The Marquis of Kent.

that had been made him by a third hand (which he would not name), from the Duke of Somerset, who offered him his protection and interest at court, and shewed him how ill he had been used by the Lords that he thought his friends, who, to his knowledge, were labouring to send Lord Somers to Ireland all the while they made use of his name : and he asked me what he should do or say to his Grace. I told him what I had said to him on Friday, that I believed, if he thought any more of dividing the Whigs, he would be left to stand almost alone ; and that I thought there could be nothing so ridiculous, after carrying such a majority for the next parliament, as to let it be broke to pieces by those that have no hopes of ever rising again but by their divisions. He said he would talk to him to the same effect, and endeavour to convince him that they two (as great a man as his Grace was) should make but a sad figure if they thought to brave their friends, and a worse if they thought to carry on the party alone. But the worst of all this bustle which his Grace makes, is what Lord Wharton suspects, and what I have heard too from others, that he is set on by Lord Treasurer, on purpose to divide them. I did all I could to convince him of the contrary ; for I solemnly believe there is nothing of it, and Lord Treasurer is so far from telling him what to say, that he avoids all he can the hearing what he would say himself. But

upon the whole matter there is nothing for your Grace, or anybody else to do, but to keep the Whigs firmly united : for, if they stand fast, the Government will be upon as firm a bottom as the foundation of your house at Woodstock. And the only thing that seems necessary besides, in my poor opinion, is that the Ministers should comply with the reasonable desires of the Whigs, or, at least, plainly convince them it is not in their power ; in which case I am fully persuaded they would have the assistance of the whole party to bring about whatever can be desired by those that wish well. And I think, as matters now stand, the ministry won't run the least hazard by going entirely into that party in which they themselves have so considerably an interest; that if the other heads should ever attempt (which is not likely) anything against them, so many would continue firm to the ministry, that they could not be hurt. So that they seem perfectly necessary to one another, with this further security, that the errant Whigs are never likely to be great favourites in this reign. And I must needs do Lord Sunderland justice, that in the conversation I had with him, going from your Grace's lodgings, he spoke very reasonably, and said that, if the Ministers would make the least step, he would answer that his friends should make two.

MR. MAYNWARING TO THE DUCHESS OF
MARLBOROUGH.

1709.

* * * * *

mortifications of another kind; for let what will happen, if ever matters go long right and cleverly, without your looking after them yourself, I will be contented to be hanged; and I don't say this because I have the honour to be your Secretary (which you are so good as to call me in this letter); because, let your power be ever so great, I am sure I will get nothing by my place, and I should not like it so well if I did. But every day's experience convinces me more of the truth I write. Lord Wharton told me yesterday that the difficulties and niceties mentioned in the letter you were pleased to enclose were now over, and that all would certainly go well, though no great accident should happen. And afterwards, taking notice that if he had done any service, I had been the cause of it, he confessed he had been extremely puzzled at the letter he had received from me at Winchington, (which I always wondered that he had never answered) for he thought it very strange in me to write such a letter, when he found Lord Treasurer had so little disposition to speak to him, that if he had not forced himself into his room at six o'clock in the morning, the day he was to go

away, he had not had a word's conversation with him. And what he said to him was very dry and disagreeable. So that I cannot help admiring my own great parts and wisdom, in thrusting myself into a service for which I was sure to have no thanks, but rather to burn my fingers, and come off with the reputation of having been too forward and impertinent (which I hope I am not), or something worse, which I am sure I abhor.

QUEEN ANNE TO THE DUCHESS OF MARLBOROUGH.*

Windsor, Thursday Noon, Oct. 1709.

I had written so long a letter to you yesterday, which I desired Lord Treasurer to send when I received yours, that I could not then write more, or else I should not have been so long without answering it. You need not have been in such haste, for Rainsford is pretty well again, and I hope will live a great while. If she should die, I will then turn my thoughts to consider who I know that I could like in that place, that being a post that next to my bed-chamber women is the nearest to my person of any of my servants; and I believe nobody, nay, even

* This is an answer to a letter from the Duchess, dated St. Albans, October 26, 1709, relative to the attempt of Mrs. Masham to put a creature of hers into a place in the nomination of the Duchess.

you yourself, if you would judge impartially, could think it unreasonable that I should take one in a place so near my person that were agreeable to me. I know this place is reckoned under your office; but there is no office whatsoever that has the entire disposal of any thing under them; but I may put in any one I please, when I have a mind to it. And now you mention the Duke of Somerset again, I cannot help upon this occasion saying, whenever he recommends anybody to me, he never says it is his right, but submits to my determination, *and has done so upon occasions in which you have recommended people to me in posts under him.* But I do not say this that you should think I hearken to everybody's recommendation; for indeed I do not, and will not, and *for the person you are so mightily afraid should put any one into Rainsford's place, I dare answer she will not go about recommending anybody.* And if this poor creature should die, which, as I said before, I hope she will not, I shall then hearken to nobody's recommendation but my own, which I am sure you ought not to think any wrong or injustice to you.

I have not yet so perfect an account of Somerset House, as I would have, which is the reason, I have not yet said any thing concerning poor Mrs. Howe;*

* The widow of the British resident at Hanover.—See *Cove's Life of Marlborough*.

but I shall be able in a few days to let you know what lodgings she can have.

I am ashamed to send you such a blottish scrawl ; but it is so late I cannot stay to write it over again.

On a paper annexed, not in the Duchess's hand.—The Queen's letter, when Mrs. Masham designed to give her favourite a place in my office, who had been my nursery maid. But she was useful to Mrs. Masham, and often went on messages, and was in private with the Queen.

In the Duchess's hand—This is a very odd letter, and a very extraordinary thing to make her excuse to me for writing a very fine hand ; it had been much more excusable to have been ashamed of the change in her style.

MR. MAYNWARING TO THE DUCHESS OF
MARLBOROUGH.

Thursday Afternoon, 1709.*

I have just received the honour of your Grace's letter, for which I give you ten thousand thanks. I am glad the Duke and Duchess of Somerset were to dine with you ; for, notwithstanding the faults of one and his imperfections, and the spirit and Percy blood of the other, I think they both naturally love and esteem you very much. And his resentments and uneasiness proceed from a right principle in him, though he mistakes in his judgment : for he

* Written apparently some time before the Admiralty affair was settled.

certainly would do any thing in the world to serve you, or 38 (Godolphin) and 39 (Marlborough) and therefore he takes it ill that the same kind of returns are not made to him; without considering that the things he desires to have done are generally improper. So that nobody with any colour of reason can assist him: but being vain, and loving to have court and applications made to him, he does not distinguish enough to know that the disappointments he meets with arise from the wrong solicitations he engages in, and not from any disrespect or ill-will towards him. There was a little time that the King did any thing for him he desired: and I shall always have reason to remember it, if I am really happier in my present circumstances than in living quite out of the world, which I sometimes have reason to doubt; but that way of humouring him then, has made him like a spoiled child ever since, and giving him a taste for power, which he is not fit for.

I did take the liberty in your Grace's lodgings, to tell him freely, that I thought he undertook too much: at which he started a little, but recovered himself presently, and talked very easily again. But I gave him one advice, which I will tell nobody but you, though I am sure 'tis right: and that was to leave off his design of making divisions among the Whigs, which could end in nothing but mischief;

and he seemed to hearken to it more than I thought he would have done: and said, he did live very civilly with Somers and Sunderland, and should always be glad to do so. And when I mentioned the business of the Admiralty to him, he did not say one word against Orford, but rather seemed to speak well of him.

So much as this last I told Sunderland in your hall at the lodge (for I am very fearful of your mistaking); and when 38 (Godolphin) spoke to me the same night at the castle, I said I found 13 (Somerset) was a little inclined to reconcile himself to Somers and Sunderland, &c. to which he answered very readily, that he thought it was best for all, if he did so. As it certainly is: for then there will be an end of a great deal of trouble, and those worthless people that now shelter themselves under him, must return to the old body of their party, where they will be considered just as much as they deserve to be, which is not at all. I did not design to write three words of this person, especially after you had said in your last letter, that it was not worth while, and yet I have filled a whole sheet about him. What I said of his returning to the Whigs was far from being treacherous to 38 and 39, for I think he would do them more service so; and that being my opinion, I must speak according to it, as I do in the case of 13 (Somerset) which perhaps

they would not like. But one should always follow such a judgment as one has. I can *do* any thing that *you* would have me to do : but I can't always think even as you would have me.

I had the honour to see Lord Treasurer to-day about the office business, and when that was done he spoke to me of 13's (Somerset) design to get 10 (Lord Rivers) a pension : I told him I had heard of it : but I thought it a most monstrous thing : and before he had done speaking, I was so uneasy to know if he had heard any thing of 240 (Duchess of Marlborough) to-day, that I believe I asked him more questions than was necessary, but he answered them very easily, and said 240 had been sick again on Tuesday night, with eating fruit, and had consulted with Mr. Morton, which I knew nothing of before, and am very sorry for, but it is strange that any one will be so careless. I told him I thought he had a sad time to have so many unreasonable people to please : I think, as Bion the philosopher once wished that he was Thracian wine, Lord Treasurer should wish he were Tocali. When he was asked why he made so extravagant a wish, he said, unless he were. that he found it was impossible for him to please everybody ; for that was the delicious drink, the Tocali of those days, which everybody loved. A grave father of the church commenting upon that wish, says he was mistaken in it, and

that to please everybody, he should have desired to be gold or silver.

But I believe he was more mistaken of the two : for it is certain there are several people that neither love gold nor silver. You see it now in young Willigo. And I verily believe that neither 240 (Duchess of Marlborough) nor 78 (Maynwaring) love either so well as they do Tocai. I agree with your Grace, that Lord Dunmore's* letter begins in a strange formal manner ; but I think your's is a very good humoured, agreeable, as well as obliging answer. And because I am your Secretary, I'll tell you what I have done ; I have blotted out a *d*, which you had put too much in the word regiment, and have interlined the word *rather*, which you had left out by mistake ; and I have done it so well, that I wish you saw it ; for I am sure you would not know it from your own hand, but because his wife is a great critick, I would not let it go with any oversight : being much prouder of your excellent talent of writing, than you are of it yourself.

* Charles Murray, first Earl of Dunmore.

MR. MAYNWARING TO THE DUCHESS OF
MARLBOROUGH.

[Imperfect.]

1709.*

Your Grace has worked a miracle in Mr. Smith, in which none of your ministers can claim any share. I am sure I was afraid to speak to him about the grand affair. And now nobody is so violent for it. Which makes the opinion of 240 (the Duchess) more reasonable, that what may be said the next Sunday night, might have been said the last. Sunderland called upon 78 (me) this morning, who being denied, followed him to his office, where he appeared a little uneasy, and some conversation has passed between Godolphin and Somers, which Somers thought strange and weak, as if 42 (the Queen) might do the business a while, since the present officer is impatient to go out of town. But this must not be spoke of as from me. Sunderland desired 78 (Maynwaring) to speak to Godolphin, that he would write next post to 15 (Orford), who will grow uneasy under the delay,† but whether there will be any opportunity for that is uncertain.

Upon the whole, whoever considers our greatest men and their way of acting, will think of one of

* Apparently written a short time before the Admiralty affair was settled.

† The delay of the Admiralty affair.

Cardinal Mazarine's maxims, who said, that *the greatest men were like victims, which, being ever so carefully chosen, had always some defect when their insides were examined.* And another Frenchman has written something to the same effect: that there were certain things at the bottom of the souls of the greatest men, which, if they could be perceived, would show those men to be as weak as others, and that oftentimes their reputation does not appear so much from any proof of their—*(here it ends).*

MR. MAYNWARING TO THE DUCHESS OF
MARLBOROUGH.

Saturday, near twelve, 1709.

I have been thinking of your Grace's last conversation with Mrs. Morley, and I cannot but hope some good will come of it. For when she could tell your Grace, in such an air, that *she had friends*, she could mean none by those but the Duke of Marlborough's sworn enemies: and I should think that expression ought to alarm both him and Lord Treasurer more than anything that has happened. Therefore you have so little reason to be dissatisfied with that last visit you made, that I should hope you would be in very good humour, as having made by it a discovery that will be of great service, if anything

can be so. Therefore, for God's sake, Madam, when you go to Windsor, pay that most necessary duty of disturbing her quiet possession of Abigail as often as is possible, and read often that part of the Duke of Marlborough's letter which is so reasonable upon that subject. Nor do I mean by this that your Grace should dissemble, or do anything that is mean; but, being fully convinced that you can see further, and better prevent mischief from *sprouting*, as you call it, than any one else, I should hope that the disagreeable part of your attendance would be weighed down by the good that it will certainly do your friends, and the mortification that it will give your enemies. If your Grace had any passion or tenderness, I know it would be impossible to endure this; but, since there is nothing of that, I should think the fondness there is in another place, as it is ridiculous to all the world, should be only sport and diversion. Though that expression, "*Sure I may love whom I please,*" was an extraordinary one; yet it will always be true that one cannot help loving what one loves; the humour must spend itself, let the object be ever so leperous; and so, in the name of wonder, let it: but it should be everybody's care to stop the infection as much as may be, and to hinder it from quite poisoning the publick. And though I have so great an opinion of your Grace's skill, in the science you profess of physick, that I

am sure, if I were sick, I would never have any other doctor, if I could help it : yet I cannot but think you have still greater qualifications to cure the distempers of the body politick ; and I shall certainly give that over for gone whenever you quit the care of it. I have no heart this morning to what I mentioned last night about endeavouring to speak to Lord Treasurer ; for I cannot endure the thoughts of having anything—(*the end is lost*).

THE DUKE OF MARLBOROUGH TO THE DUCHESS OF
MARLBOROUGH.

1709.

I received yesterday, by express, from the Emperor, a letter in Latin, and a power from the King of Spain, in Spanish, which I send to Lord Treasurer : he will let you know what they are. I do keep it a secret here, and so I hope it will be in England till I have communicated with the States. For I would not meddle with it unless it be as well liked in Holland as I believe it will be in England ; for no honour or advantage would be of much pleasure to me unless I did, at the same time, good to the public by it. You will let 91 (Godolphin) know that I desire to have the opinion of 117 (Sunderland) and his friends on the powers offered me, for I should be very sorry to

make a wrong step in this matter ; besides, I must be very careful of not giving jealousy to 19, with whom, at this time, I am extremely well.

MR. MAYNWARING TO THE DUCHESS OF
MARLBOROUGH.

Tuesday Morning, 1709.*

Tho' I had the honour to write to your Grace last night, I find myself very ready to do the same thing this morning ; yet I have nothing particular to trouble you with, without which you seem to make a difficulty of writing, which I am not sensible of ; for one can never want something to say to those that one tells all one's thoughts to, till one ceases to think, that is, to live. I think, therefore, I am in the first principle of Des Cartes' philosophy ; and as long as I do either, I can't fail of having something either to speak or to write to you. Some thoughts I must necessarily have while I live ; and what should hinder me from disclosing them to one that I can have no reserve with. If I had any prudence, I could not use it ; and if I had any art, I could not shew it. This makes it plain to me that

* This may have been written on Tuesday, Nov. 8th, the very day that the new Board of the Admiralty appeared in the Gazette. The commissioners, were Edward Earl of Orford, Sir John Leake, Sir George Byng, George Dodington, Esq., and Paul Methuen, Esq.

one may write eternally to those that one can trust. And when I have heard you at any time say that you have not the same talents for writing that others have, I confess it has never appeared to me to be spoken with your usual sincerity; for you must know, as well as my Lady Pembroke, that you have not only the best and fairest mind, the truest heart, and the farthest reach of thought, but that you are the more happy in a significant and proper way of expressing yourself in this particular faculty of writing letters than even anybody, since writing, or reasoning, or good sense, have been known in the world. And to convince you that I have not been guilty of flattery in what I have just written, the first part you yourself know and feel to be true; and the latter part even your enemies confess. Those who wish you the worst will all own that nobody ever had such a knack of writing, as they call it; and I never heard any one say more upon that subject than I remember my Lady Orkney did at St. Albans. Therefore, if you write to me but seldom, you should not say 'tis because you want matter, or have nothing to *trouble me with*, but because you don't care to give yourself so much trouble, if anything can be called so that is done so easily. Tho' I professed just now against using art, perhaps you will think I have done it in drawing this conclusion from what I have written; but indeed it was so natural, it could

not be avoided, and it is certain I must either have the pleasure of hearing from you pretty often, or the mortification of taking it a little ill. This last expression I fear will hardly pass for flattery, which vice I detest so much, that I am sensible that aversion makes me run too far sometimes into the other extreme. But I do really think that all flatterers deserve to undergo the same fate as Callisthenes the historian, who, in his History of Alexander the Great, deified him ; for which he was justly punished with death for his flattery. And I think those who do not go so far, but only ascribe to people such virtues, qualities, or parts as all the world knows they have not, should at least be served as Hannibal's painter was. Your Grace may please to remember that Hannibal had but one eye (he was a predecessor of Sir James of the Peake, the monocus of his time), and this cunning painter, thinking to make his court, drew a picture of him, in which he gave him two. Mightily pleased with his work and deep stratagem, away he carries this picture to this great General, in full assurance of a mighty reward ; but Hannibal no sooner saw it than he threw it at the painter's head, and bade him begone, for a flattering fool as he was. Of the same Hannibal it is said, that another painter having drawn him so as to shade the blind side of his face, he gave that man a good reward : which shews, that though he would not have people

tell lies in his favour, yet he liked those well enough who concealed his imperfections : and that I think all friends should do for one another to the world, though between themselves they should conceal nothing. And further than this, I have Plutarch's authority for saying, that a just and proper commendation is as much the duty of one friend to another, as a reproof or complaint ; and if it is necessary to blame their vices, 'tis sure as necessary, as well as much more pleasant to praise their virtues. But sure there is nothing more nauseous than those wretches that are always commending whether right or wrong ; who have no opinions of their own, but endeavour to be like those they would please in every thing, even in their imperfections. Which puts me in mind of a ridiculous accident that made me laugh when I read it, at a feast of Dionysius. This prince being a little short-sighted, his parasites would sometimes take it into their heads that they would none of them see well ; and when his entertainment was brought in, this humour of affecting blindness coming upon them, they all tumbled upon one another, and threw down the dishes from off his table.

Thus far I had written this morning, since when I have dined with Lord Wharton and one that surprised me, Mr. Meredith, who is come here in a very fair way of recovery, which I am glad of. I have been writing a long letter to Mr. Walpole, which I promised him long since, of all the news and politics

I knew, and particularly of the Admiralty affair, the success of which I have assured him is wholly owing to your Grace. And I do not doubt but he and the Duke of Devonshire will finish at New-market what you have so well begun, and what I believe will prove a very good work.

Endorsed by the Duchess.—A letter upon flatterers, and on the change of the Admiralty.

MR. MAYNWARING TO THE DUCHESS OF
MARLBOROUGH.

Saturday Morning. 1709.*

After thanking her for the unexpected favour of her letter, and of her Grace's benevolence, and a bitter invective against sovereigns, he quotes one of her sayings upon the young Prince of Hanover :—
"If, after all, he should prove a human creature, which princes seldom are;" he says, that horses alone do not flatter.

When I came to 4 (Halifax), he was quite alone, and in great good humour and high commendations of your Grace. He said the new affair of the Admiralty was entirely done by you, as everything had been that was right since the Queen's reign; and he thought now the ministers were putting themselves on so good a foot, that their friends might support them.

* Perhaps Saturday, the 12th of November, four days after the new Board of Admiralty had been gazetted.

MR. MAYNWARING TO THE DUCHESS OF
MARLBOROUGH.

Latter end of 1709.

I will not trouble your Grace with any account of the votes and resolutions in the House of Commons to-day, because Mr. Walpole says, he is to send them to the Duke of Marlborough. The Queen's speech was very well cited, but it was observed that she spoke it in a much fainter voice than she used to have, and her manner was more careless and less moving, than it has been on other occasions. What I did write for Lord Coningsby yesterday, was not at their meeting, for Mr. Smith brought another paper in the Lord Treasurer's hand, upon which they sat in consultation till twelve o'clock; and it was moved by Sir J. Holland, with some small attention. The House of Commons was very thin, and I think the enemy (as they are called) are so dispirited that they will hardly rally this session. I have heard your Grace say that you like long letters in the country, and therefore I will write you a history. 6 (Sunderland) came yesterday to 78 (Maynwaring), and said that 5 (Somers) and himself liked the words that 78 (Maynwaring) had given them for a compliment, but that they had not shewn them to 4 (Halifax); and their reason was, that they thought him the properest person to move them, and they both desired 78 would mention it first to him. 78 did not much like that proposal;

but, being pressed to it, and really desirous to serve or oblige those two men, and to make things go easily as far as it is in his small power, away he went to 4 (Halifax) and told him what had passed between 6 (Sunderland) and himself upon that subject; upon which 4 (Halifax) interrupted him with a great oath, that this was no more than what he expected,—that indeed Somers and Sunderland had mentioned something of the compliment in his room, and that he remembered Sunderland had said he would have 78 (Maynwaring) to make it; but, for his own part, he did not say one word upon that occasion;—that he had never done anything of that kind in parliament, and that he had now less reason than ever, since he had not been very well used of late, either by 39 (Duke of Marlborough), or 240 (Duchess of Marlborough). I did not enter into that question, nor indeed press him very much upon the subject of my embassy, thinking that 240 would not thank me for it extremely, if I should succeed. But Halifax continued the discourse with many expressions that shewed he is highly dissatisfied with Somers; so that matter fell, and then Halifax began to clear his brow, and said he would employ 78 (Maynwaring) in a negotiation of more consequence; which was this:—Nicolini had an opera that he desired might be played in his room, which had been furnished for 240 (the Duchess), who had never seen it since; that, for his part, upon the foot that he stood, and

the Duchess of Mon[tague], and, in short, the whole family, he thought it would be very improper for him to make invitations; at the same time, he could not but say, that if 240 (the Duchess) would come to hear music, he should be very glad; and he wished 78 (Maynwaring) would undertake this great affair. 78 told him that, as to the Duchess of Mon[tague], he believed everything was well, and that she was the fittest person to be employed in this matter, whom 78 took to be the proper mistress of the house. Halifax smiled at that, and drew up his head, and looked taller than ordinary; and so 78 and he parted. But to-day he came to 78, and said Sunderland and Somers had persuaded him to what he refused yesterday; and he has actually moved for thanks, &c., to the Queen for her speech, in which motion he has artfully (as they said) named the Duke of Marlborough, so that nobody else can be mentioned but very improperly; and the particular thanks to his Grace could not be, by the orders of that house, given till to-morrow. And he has invited Somers and Sunderland to meet 78 at his house in the morning, to give his weak assistance towards finishing the address. Sure 78 is under some fortunate planet at this time, for it seems to me that if he would be secretary to anybody but 240 (the Duchess), he might almost hope to be so to the very cabinet. I have since all this inquired very se-

riously whether Somers and Sunderland do mean to bring him now into council, and they protest not ; and that there is but one case which could make that tolerably proper ; and that is, if hereafter the Commission of Trade should be put upon a right foot (as they call it), and he at the head of it ; but that this is not so much as to be thought of till after the peace. I do verily believe they have no other thought for him but this, if this can ever hereafter be made practicable ; and it was told me as a great secret, and desired that it might so remain.

I hope your Grace finds everything to your satisfaction at Woodstock, and that my friend Mr. Vanburgh is very good and tractable. He has often mentioned a request which he would have me make to you in behalf of Mr. Hawkesmore, and I beg you will please to let him tell it you yourself, now they are both together. I would not take this liberty, but that I have often heard you wish for some opportunity to do him good : which he is the more worthy of, because he does not seem to be very solicitous to do it for himself ; but has two qualities that are not often joined, modesty and merit. And I shall never forget the obligation I had to him for adhering so firmly to my interest in the difficult dispute about the way to your new house.

I can assure your Grace that three of your daughters (all but Lady Harriet, who was not with

them) were extremely well this afternoon, for I heard them very merry at Lord Sunderland's, tho' I had not the honour to be in the same room with them. And, enquiring of the servant what company they had, he answered very gravely, "Nobody, Sir, but Mr. Secretary Hopkins." Tho' they had but that one spark amongst them, it was plain, by their good humour, they did not quarrel about him ; which I mention to your Grace with some pleasure, because it shews they are of a very sweet temper, and not at all given to be coquets.

THE DUKE OF MARLBOROUGH TO THE DUCHESS OF MARLBOROUGH.

Hague, the 15th Nov. 1709.

Since my last, I have had the pleasure of yours of the 27th from St. Albans. I have not known the least of what has passed concerning 104 (the Admiralty) but what you have been so kind as to write me, I believe the reason is, that Lord Treasurer expects every day my arrival. If the wind had not changed, I should have been with you last Tuesday. It is now as cross as can be. However, I keep my servants on board the yachts, being resolved to quit this place the first minute the wind proves the least favourable. I have received the letter you mentioned, and shall keep it for you, and not send it, since I hope to be with you as soon as this letter.

Entirely yours.

MR. MAYNWARING TO THE DUCHESS OF
MARLBOROUGH.

1709.*

* * * * *

* that she (the Queen) differed with you in opinion, which I have shewn, may very well happen, as she herself declared very movingly in one of her letters. And since you have lost nothing but her passion, which it is plain you never cared for, and since the cause of your falling out is removed, she being now entirely in the hands that you would have put her into at first, I think, whenever she shall have owned herself to have been in the wrong in her late actions, which she ought to do, you should then, for the future, live with her like a friend and good acquaintance, always remembering to give yourself high and just airs upon the subject of the politics, which you should also do to 38 (Godolphin) and 39 (Marlborough) who deserve it as richly. And then for that noble treasure her heart, I would tell her that since she has given it to so worthy an object as fair-faced Abigail, I would never think of regaining it or of disturbing what is so very well placed. And if you would see her pretty often in this jocose manner (which you could perform rarely if you pleased) I am confident

* This letter would seem to have been written after the Admiralty affair was settled, and therefore about the middle of November.

you might so order it, that it would be no great trouble to you, and it would give your friends infinite satisfaction. And I should not at all despair when the Whig party is well settled and re-united, to see what you mentioned performed of sending that sweet soul and her husband to a government, quite to discourage the Tories and keep them down for ever. You say that Mrs. Morley would so hate all those that contributed to this, and particularly the Freemans, that there would be no living with her after it, with any satisfaction. I have heard others, and (I believe) yourself say, that she would forget her dear charms in a month. And though you write that whatever you can do or say to Mrs. Morley, can only be of use to Godolphin and Marlborough, if they are to be in business (the *if* makes me laugh); I am quite of opinion that your care is absolutely necessary to the whole, which otherwise will yet miscarry. For I am convinced that nobody can keep things long in the good way they are now in, but you and your own secretary, who must be always upon the watch, and even write books together, as was done before the last election, to prove that the Tories are Frenchmen, and must never rise again.

I told 6 (Sunderland) of Map's project, and mine of hiring Sir P. King, who approved it highly,

and told S (Somers) of it, who bid him ask me if I did not think 1000*l.* a year would be well laid out secretly upon Lord Haversham, who he was sure might be had for that. I told him that I thought it certainly right: and that everybody that could do the least good or harm should now be tried to be fetched in, that called himself a Whig, let him be ever so ill a man. And this Admiralty affair would give them a pretence for returning to the party, and they might now talk very finely of matters being upon a right bottom, without many people's knowing that they were paid for what they spoke.

The right bottom of almost everybody is their interest, and this was never such a bottom as these ministers have to stand upon, a strong, industrious, able, well intentioned party, that can never get between them and the Queen. And if you do not like to be at the head of this party, as you naturally should be, what think you of resigning your place and interest to my Lady Orkney? Do you think she could be prevailed upon to take it? But don't make me over to her; always remembering that I will certainly quit when you do, and never serve anybody else as long as I have breath.

MR. MAYNWARING TO THE DUCHESS OF
MARLBOROUGH.

Saturday Morning.*

I have troubled your Grace with but one letter since you left this place, because I knew the Parliament news was sent to the Duke of Marlborough. And I have heard very little besides, having not been well enough to go much abroad; only yesterday Mr. Delaval came to tell me of great uneasiness that Sir J. Jennings† had been under, but that is over now: and I believe Mr. Walpole writ an account of that too last night. It seems he knew nothing of being left out of the commission till half an hour before it passed; and everybody he met with for a day or two condoled with him upon it. But that he only took for a little want of management or decency. His real anger was against his friend, Sir G. Byng, for it seems there was a secret agreement between them, that neither of them should come into that commission without the other, which Byng broke upon the first opportunity. Besides, Sir J. Jennings was not very willing to serve under Mr. Aylmer, having the same objection to it,

* Probably Saturday, Nov. 19, 1709.

† The Queen had personal objections to the two Admirals, Sir John Jennings and Sir George Byng, though the latter was included in the mission. About the middle of November, Sir John Jennings was appointed Admiral of the White.

that Mr. Aylmer had to serve under Mr. Churchill, which was a discontinuance of the service for twelve or fourteen years. And I find the officers have no real value for Mr. Aylmer, nor indeed for any one now but for Jennings, whom they reckon almost equal to Sir C. Shovel.

I congratulate your Grace upon the victory which your servant, Sir H. Furnese* obtained last Thursday in the Kit Cat Club. My Lord Wharton had mustered all his forces to unravel what had been done the week before, for which his Lordship has a particular genius: and the Lord Mohun† was prepared to open the debate, but the members were so visibly on the knight's side, that there was not a word said against him, and he was peaceably introduced to a place which he had as much a mind to, as all the world has to places of another kind. I send your Grace this observation, to shew you that the Duke of Marlborough begins to be in favour with him, which is the more remarkable because Lord Haversham has certainly a hand in that paper: with whom, you know 6 (Sunderland) has a private negotiation. But, as you allow me sometimes to trouble you with scraps of learning and history, I can't help saying that the commendations which are anywhere given

* Sir Henry Furnese was member of Parliament for Sandwich.

† Charles Baron Mohun, of Okehampton, Devon, afterwards, in 1712, slain in a duel.

to the Duke of Marlborough, only make one remember a saying of Livy's, who, having spoken of the praises which Cicero gave to Cato, and of the satires which Cæsar made upon him, adds at last his own opinion, *that neither did him good or hurt* ; because, says he, the glory of this great man is come to so high a pitch, that it can neither be increased by commendations nor lessened by reflections. I wish your Grace a safe journey to-day to Windsor, and the same to-morrow hither.

LADY SUNDERLAND TO THE DUCHESS OF
MARLBOROUGH.

December, 1709.

I did not thank my dear mama by the post for your two kind letters, because Mr. Hodges was to go to town. When I heard the report mama speaks of, of Mr. Masham's having something given him in the army, I did not think it wrong (as the world is made) for papa to humour the Queen in it ; but for the other, I own I hoped it an impossible thing for you ever to be reconciled to such a creature, even if it could do good, but that is impossible ; it would, may be, let her do the mischief underhand. I dare say nothing will ever be right, but the removing her ; and if that can't be, I hope she will join with

the Tories, and not with the Whigs, and then it won't be in their power to ruin all the world when there is a peace.

I should beg your pardon for saying so much out of my mind on your letters, since Lord Sunderland intends to write; but my dear mama's goodness has always given me encouragement.

MR. MAYNWARING TO THE DUCHESS OF
MARLBOROUGH.

1709, Monday, at six o'clock.*

That I might get a new subject to write to your Grace upon, I found out my Lord Wharton this morning, and had a great deal of talk with him; and I am not sure that I have not done a little good, at least I shall have some satisfaction in telling your Grace what passed. He began with the old account of the Whigs having been so often deceived by the ministers, and it would be very hard to settle such a trust or confidence among them, as would be necessary for the public good. I desired him to look only forwards, and to impute a great part of what was passed to the ill design and artifice of Mr. Harley, and to consider, that though they might hurt the ministers, they would hurt themselves at

* There is some difficulty in ascertaining the date of this letter, from its imperfect state, but it seems to have been written late in 1709.

the same time ; and that I believed, as the humour of the court was, they were not likely to get better friends in it, unless they could carry things to such an extremity as they themselves would not like. And a great many more wise things I said, which I will not trouble your Grace with repeating ; but upon the whole he seemed very reasonable. And, though I know he can banter very well, I firmly think he did not on this occasion ; for he gave me authority to say anything in his name to Lord Treasurer, and said, if he did not serve him in whatever he himself could expect from him, considering the party he had always been of, I should say he was no gentleman, for that he did really wish Lord Treasurer well ; and he said a hundred things that were very right, both of him and his own friends. I told him whatever he had a mind should be said to Lord Treasurer, would come better from somebody else that had more credit with him than me, for that I saw him very seldom, and then he never spoke to me of anything ; at which he smiled, as if he thought I meant to impose upon him. I said I understood his meaning, but that what I said was very true. He told—(*The rest torn off.*)

On a separate piece of paper, apparently belonging to the preceding letter.

* * * made two appointments for me to meet his Lord at his office, and

who would have me speak to him ; that I found by a little conversation that I had had with Lord Halifax, they have such an opinion of my being nothing but a sad tool of the ministers, that I thought it would be to no purpose for me to say anything to them ; and I know Hopkins would be very sorry for that, and would say a great deal more upon the subject, for he does not believe at all that I am influenced by the ministers. And, indeed, I never gave anybody reason to think I was, unless it was by voting in the Scotch business, which I would have done if I had had no place. For it was my opinion, and sure it was not a very wild one, since Sir Joseph Jekyll, who had been of the other side, made a recantation speech and owned he was convinced by the debate, and voted as I did, for the business of the Admiralty never came to a question. And I am sure nobody wanted it worse than I did, though I have a friendship for Mr. Walpole, but I thought him little concerned in the matter ; yet I will confess that I could not advise him as some of these lords did, to play a false part, and secretly give up and undermine the commission he had sate in, for I thought no end could justify such an act as that ; and as I would not have done it myself, I own I persuaded him against it. And now I think I have told your Grace all my crimes with the Whigs, with whom I am sure I shall never differ in one thing,

unless my Lord Treasurer should happen to be concerned in the question. But I would rather be buried alive than accused of acting an ill part to him, and that men should say of me as they do of Mr. St. John, when he passes by, "There goes an ungrateful rogue."

MR. MAYNWARING TO THE DUCHESS OF
MARLBOROUGH.

1709, or early in 1710.

* * * give yourself the trouble of writing it. Besides, I shall certainly be siezed with a violent fit of prudence upon that occasion : and I never promised to write just what I thought to any one but your Grace. And if I should do it upon this subject, you would dislike it yourself ; for at present I am exceedingly ill affected. I hope your Grace sees the Queen every day, at least like a Scotch lady (as you call it), for if you should live a week in the house and not do it, your friends, that know not much of the matter, will be concerned at it, and wish it otherwise. And I am afraid, notwithstanding your visits, there will be still handle enough to renew the correspondence you are thinking of, whenever you have a mind to it. 'Tis much against my inclination to wish your Grace uneasiness, though for one moment ; but it is in order to make your-

self and your friends easy for a long time, which will never happen if you do not see the Queen sometimes ; and I have been often sorry to find that you will not seem to understand that so clearly as you do everything else. If it be a trouble to your Grace, I hope 'tis the only one you will ever know ; and that in all other respects you will have as much happiness as you deserve, which is more than ever anybody yet enjoyed. I took the liberty to enclose this ballad,* though there be not much in it.

Endorsed by the Duchess.—About going to the Queen, &c.

MR. MAYNWARING TO THE DUCHESS OF
MARLBOROUGH.

1709.†

He began the story of himself, of his having gone up to Abigail to compliment her with Mr. Fielding, which he says he did in jest, and told Lord Treasurer of it before, at which he laughed ; but he owned she had since sent her husband to wait upon him. I told him I wondered he would do it, and that she would give herself airs upon being taken notice of by him ; and that I should hear Mrs Brit-

* Maynwaring wrote several political ballads, one of which seems to be here alluded to.

† "Conversation with some one, probably Lord Halifax, on paying court to Abigail."—*Coxe*.

ton would brag of it, as she did to Meredith's wife, that your Grace was inclined to be reconciled to her, which I knew to be a lie. He said he would do so no more, but I won't answer for that. He says he believes Lady Denbigh spoke to nobody but the Queen about her son's selling his place, but that Mr. Fielding suspected all along; Mrs. Masham hindered his parting with it, to get it for Davenant, a creature of hers, and because Mr. Charlton was well with your Grace. But I find he thinks a great deal was owing to his interest; for that the Queen's answer to him, when he first spoke about it, was more favourable than what Lord Treasurer reported she made to him. The compliment to Abigail was not till the thing was done. I asked him if they were thanks, he said no, nothing like it; but ingenious raillery, and that Mr. Fielding made her laugh. He says he will carry Lord Wharton to Lord Treasurer, so that I have nothing to desire of your Grace upon that head. 'Tis certain that Lord may do good service in reconciling the Whigs.

MR. MAYNWARING TO THE DUCHESS OF
MARLBOROUGH.

Saturday Morning. (Probably in 1709).

I had the honour to dine with Lord Treasurer and Lord Chancellor, at Lord Halifax's. When the

company was gone, Lord Halifax whispered me it was a melancholic night ; no plays nor such entertainments to be had, and he should be glad if I would sit with him a little ; and he talked over a good many things, but in a moderate calm way, concluding, that having offered his service, if it was not accepted he should trouble himself very little about the matter. If he keeps his word, the members will have less trouble upon that head, than I believe they expect.

I spent all the morning writing a letter to the Tatler.

MR. MAYNWARING TO THE DUCHESS OF
MARLBOROUGH.

Friday Afternoon, 1709, or 10.

Sir J. Werder gave me to day the enclosed letter, which I am afraid is chiefly to trouble your Grace with the present Lord Dumore's having his father's government, which I know you have done all you can in already, and so I told Sir John ; and that I doubted it would be to no purpose, which he seemed to think himself, from something Lord Godolphin said to him upon that subject. It is an unfortunate family, which I pity for the memory of him that is dead ; who was a very worthy man, and unlike his countryman ; which you will say is a good character. And now I am speaking of them, it puts me

in mind of what Sunderland told me yesterday ; which was, that he wished Lord Orkney was made General of the foot, which he believed would make the Duke of Argyle shoot himself through the head. I told him that last consideration was a good motive, but otherwise I thought one not much better or more friendly to the Duke of Marlborough than the other. He said that was not altogether so : that Lord Orkney was a very weak man, but had better qualities than the other, and had behaved himself well in the impeachment.* And for Duke Hamilton, he was convinced that what he did in that matter, was to keep up his interest in Scotland, which was all Jacobite ; and if he had lost that by voting on the other side, he would have been insignificant ; and this he had often said to him, in such a manner as he could not well contradict. And when I heard this, I remembered that Godolphin had told me not long ago, that Marlborough was grown to be very kind to Lord Orkney, and did set him up in the army against the Duke of Argyle. 'Tis certain everything should be done to crush that insolent man ; and though it is hard for one in Marlborough's station to know who are his true friends, he ought never to forgive so false and apparent an enemy. And I know not if there be any way to punish such a person, who is both covetous and

* Of Sacheverel.

ambitious, but to give another a commission of more profit and advantage than his own. At the same time I think the D. of Marlborough has a sad time in all his greatness, for which he is so much envied, since it makes it necessary for him to gratify a fool to mortify a knave.

And I think that Spaniard was in the right who said that great employments were called *charges*, because of the weight and load that attended them ; and that the highest of them were no better than honourable slaveries. This is a thought that your Grace will readily give into, and agree with Seneca, that nothing is so vile and cheap as mankind, even in their own opinion : since it is plain by their practice, that they value less themselves and their liberty, than a little money, or honour, or paltry advantage of any kind.

MR. MAYNWARING TO THE DUCHESS OF
MARLBOROUGH.

Saturday Morning, 1709.

I have received the honour of your Grace's letter yesterday, and I believe none of mine have miscarried, for I did not write till Thursday night, having heard nothing either from Lord Treasurer or at Lord Halifax's that it was necessary to tell you

very soon ; in which case, only, I said I would presume to write again immediately, either by Bew's packet or the coach. And I will only say upon this occasion, that I am very sure I shall never forget to write, nor omit it, when 'tis possible for me to think I may do it without impertinence. And, if letting you know all that I do or can learn of other people, is (as you are pleased to call it) any entertainment, I will certainly acquaint you with every passage and circumstance that I meet with ; for which I can't properly be called a spy, because I will never converse much with any man without telling him that I always acquaint you with everything I hear, and then 'tis his own fault if he tells me what he would not have me know. And I am so fully convinced by the little trials I have made, that such a frank open way of conversing, will carry any business further than the craft, half-words, and double meanings, which have so long passed for wisdom, that if I could set my heart much upon any affair this side Mindelheim, I should not much despair of making progress in it, purely by using no art at all. What Lord Wharton said, that it was their business to find expedients, was spoken a little too peevishly, and your Grace has made a right remark upon it. I have not spoken with him since he was with Lord Treasurer ; but Lord Halifax told me last night that Lord Sunderland sent to look for him as soon

as he came to town. I hope your Grace has mended his temper, which you can never see at the worst, because 'tis always upon a subject that would be extremely improper. I told Lord Treasurer on Thursday, that I found he was ashamed at a letter that your Grace had writ to him, which his lordship seemed glad to hear, and the rather (as he said) because he could not be accused of having been the occasion of it, since he had not seen you; upon which I told him, without any difficulty, that it was possible I might be accused of it, and not altogether without reason, since I had really complained of him in a letter to your Grace. And since I am sure I have no ill meaning to him, but quite the contrary, I should not be much concerned if he knew it himself; for he certainly should call himself to account for a great deal of what he says, which only hurts himself, and which many that have heard will never repeat, out of kindness and regard to him, that is very uncommon. What your Grace says, that the Whigs should have a little patience, is all that can be desired of them. And I should not wish they may have that in any other point but that of the Admiralty; for I think there are several other things that they should immediately insist upon, such as the altering the commissons of the customs and excise, and, at least, given new directions to the postmasters; for there is no Whig in any country, that can have

common justice done him by those commissions : which is monstrous usage to those that must support the government. And I believe any change of that kind may be carried, and submitted to now, for a quiet life ; and they would have a good effect before the opening of parliament.

I will speak to Lord Wharton to press for it ; and if Lord Sunderland's zeal were turned a little, for the present, that way, it would be well employed. And there is nothing more sure than that, by degrees, they must and will have everything they desire ; for as they can do nothing without the ministers, so neither can the ministers stand without them. And therefore I think the case is very different from what it was last year, when there were views of being served by divisions out of each party ; for there is not one man alive who thinks that game will serve now, which may be properly called by the delightful name of *crimp*. But it is such a crimp as every gamester must lose at ; and therefore 'tis sure the worst play that ever was invented. And this is some sort of answer to the chief reason which the Whigs give, why they will not serve till things are more settled ; which is, that if they do, they shall certainly be deceived as they have been, for *I think* 'tis too late now to deceive them any more. However, if they have a mind to shew their strength, by setting up Sir P. King, I entirely agree with your

Grace, that they cannot do it upon a point of less consequence to the ministers ; and so I told Lord Sunderland. And there is this advantage, too, on their side, that the man they are for, has *ten times* the capacity of the other. And what your Grace says after this, that there is no way but by necessity to do these things, which cannot be compassed by reason, that there will be still room to heal all, before a thorough breach is made ; that it would be ridiculous for the ministers to be offended with the Whigs for foregoing that in parliament, which they themselves declare they have no credit to do, though they think it right ; and that they ought to show what they say is true, by being easy in all things that are fit to comply with. All this I say is so very right, in my poor opinion, that I never read in all my life, so much good sense and reason, in so many lines, nor so well expressed, which I would not say if I did not really think it ; for I am sure you hate flattery, since I know you are so much above it. And if I had not that opinion of you, I should not have so great a one as I have. I am very sorry that the next thing you say is, desiring me to burn your letter, since there is such use to be made of it, and so much to be learnt from it. And I will still hope, that if nobody sees it (which I am sure none shall) it would be the same thing as if it were burnt. And if I should die suddenly, and your letters should hap-

pen to be seen (which I believe they would not, even in that case,) the worst that could be said, would be, that you had trusted too much, in such matters of politicks, one that could not deserve so much confidence from you. But—(*Here it ends abruptly.*)

MR. MAYNWARING TO THE DUCHESS OF
MARLBOROUGH.

Tuesday Afternoon.*

Mr. Horace Walpole came to me this morning, and said it was an unfortunate thing for his brother that he was out of town ; for he had found out that Mr. Smith, who it was generally thought would have succeeded Sir T. Littleton, would not accept the place,† and he had reason to believe his brother would be very glad of it ; and since the person now most talked of for it, was Mr. Compton, he thought there would be no competition between two people whose merits and late behaviour had been so different, if his brother's inclinations were known. He desired me to acquaint your Grace with this, whom he believed to be so much his brother's friend ; and I, too, humbly beg your pardon for my presumption in doing it. But I could not deny barely to give conciliations, which may possibly be of some use to one that I think deserves very well.

* January 7, 1710.

† That of the Treasurer of the Navy.

MR. WALPOLE TO THE DUCHESS OF MARLBOROUGH.

Jan. 11, 1709-10.

By the letter I wrote the last post, you will have learned, before this time, my thoughts about the exchange of my office* ; and, indeed, the prospect of a peace, which everybody concludes to be near, leaves me no room to hesitate in this matter. For there is a thousand pounds a year of my present salary that is paid out of Mr. Bridges's office, upon consideration of the foreign business ; which, determining with the war, will make a very great difference betwixt the two employments. So that if I may be pardoned for preferring so considerable an advantage before the particular favour that my present office entitles me to, in receiving my Lord Duke's commands, I must accept of this office. I think of setting out for London to-morrow ; tho', indeed, in the condition I find myself, I am afraid I shall be obliged to travel very slowly, if I am able to come forward at all.

You will be so kind as to make my humblest acknowledgements to my Lord Duke, and Lord Treasurer. My Lady Marlborough must ever command all the duty and service I am master of, for I am confident I am obliged to her on this occasion.

* In the beginning of 1710, Walpole, who had been Secretary of War, was made Treasurer of the Navy.

THE DUCHESS OF MARLBOROUGH TO MR.
MAYNWARING.

January, 1710.

The Queen gives no answer to Godolphin's representations ; she says she will send for Somers ; wonders that the Lords should persuade Marlborough to return ; sends a copy of the Duke's letter to Godolphin, which the Q. desires him to shew to Sunderland. He had said it before to her, on that subject, but too soon, at which he writes that she only made him a bow, but gave not one word of answer ; and he said that she told 5 (Somers) that she would send for him, and let him know her mind ; that he believed it would not be till she had talked with Abigail. This is an exact account of both letters ; and I conclude you will wonder with me, why these Lords, after such a description, should think it reasonable for 39 (Lord Marlborough) to come. I answer, if he does, I shall wish he had never proceeded in this manner, but have gone to council in a cold formal way, never to 42 (the Queen) alone, and declare to all the world how he was used, and that he served only till the war was ended, because he did not think it reasonable to let a chambermaid disappoint all he had done. I send you here a copy of what 39 has written to 38, by the messenger that brings you this. I desire you will go by eight in the morning

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to 6 (Sunderland), and shew him the copy of 391's letter ; and thus far think it is not necessary for me to write another letter to him, I am so tired with this. I conclude ; and send to him or some of (*the rest missing*).

MR. MAYNWARING TO THE DUCHESS OF
MARLBOROUGH.

10-20 Feb. 1710, Monday Afternoon.

The wind being contrary here, I am afraid the Duchess of Marlborough will be detained at Harwich till this letter may be carried thither, and therefore beg leave to send your Grace her Majesty's answer to the address, which it seems was not given when presented, nor did I hear what it was, till the Speaker reported it to the House to-day.

It was this : " My Lords and Gentlemen, I am so sensible of the importance of the Duke of Marlborough's presence in Holland at this critical juncture, that I have already given the necessary directions for his immediate departure, and I am very glad to find by this address, that you concur with me in a just sense of the Duke of Marlborough's eminent services." This is but a dry answer, and a friend of your Grace's, with whom you dined on Saturday, says it was kept back on purpose, till the Duke of Marlborough was gone away. But perhaps that is refining

too much, tho' it is usual to give the answer when the address is presented, and this will appear well enough to those who do not know there was a better prepared. The Archbishop has written a very good letter to the Queen upon the subject of the new Bishops, which she seems not to dislike; yet, has not said that she will make any of those men that he sends her a list of.

6 (Sunderland) called upon me to-day and would fain have had me write to the Duke of Marlborough for engaging your Grace to stay in town when you return, and when I declined it, he said he would do it himself; and that he saw already that nothing would go well if you was not here, and he said 5 (Somers) was of the same opinion too. And I do assure your Grace that this discourse arose purely from him, and that I said very little on the subject, tho' I confess I am very much of his opinion.

I wish the Duke of Marlborough a prosperous voyage in all respects, and that he may return with the blessings of peace, and then I have no doubt of things going well at home. But Lord have mercy on the state! if you desert it while he is absent.

MR. MAYNWARING TO THE DUCHESS OF
MARLBOROUGH.

Friday Evening.

Strongly recommends Lord Dunmore, as honest and poor with a large family.

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MR. WALPOLE TO THE DUCHESS OF MARLBOROUGH.

March 10, 1709-10.

You do me the greatest honour imaginable in sending me my Lord Delawarr's* letter. I did employ one to set Mr. Mildmay at work, but cannot tell that anything has yet been done in it. I rather think 'tis all owing to your Grace's letter ; and may he and everybody else always think your Grace the best Judge of what is best for the Queen's service. I am sure I know who would be the wiser if she thought so.

THE DUKE OF MARLBOROUGH TO THE DUCHESS OF MARLBOROUGH.

Hague, March 19th, 1709-10.

I had the happiness last night of yours of the 2d, by Mr. Wood, and this morning yours of the 3d, by the post. What 13 (Duke of Somerset) made his wife do, is a confirmation of his designs, which will appear every day. I am more concerned at our want of interest in Oxfordshire, than at what 13 may design, for I had much rather end my days quietly with my neighbours, than be great at court, where I desire no more power than that of being able to persuade 42 (the Queen) not to hurt themselves ; I see you think the trial of Sacheverell

* John, sixth Lord Delawarr, one of the tellers of the Exchequer, and afterwards Treasurer of the Excise.

has been very well managed, which I am extremely glad of, for in time it must have a good effect all over England. There are seventeen pieces of the inclosed pattern, fourteen Dutch ells in each piece ; three or four of the pieces are damaged, however they will not sell them, unless they be all bought. They are contented to take ten shillings the Dutch ell, which will make the whole come to one hundred and nineteen pounds. I desire you will let me know what use you can make of this velvet, and if you would have me buy it. I also send you my coat of arms, as they are to be on the hangings now making at Brussels, so that I desire you will send for Vanburgh, and that he should take care that the crown and arms in the hangings, already come over, be exactly as this is. Lord Treasurer will give you an account of our negociations here. By next Sunday I may be able to give a better judgment, but I think it looks as if we should be obliged to make this next campaign. We have a good many disagreeable accounts come from England to this country, both as to the intentions of the court, as well as the inclinations of the people for Sacheverell, which does great hurt. I am entirely yours.

MR. MAYNWARING TO THE DUCHESS OF
MARLBOROUGH.

Friday Evening, March, 1710.

Mr. Fortescue's* commands to me were these, and that I would acquaint your Grace, and desire you would say the same to Lord Treasurer. It is Sir Thomas Parker's† opinion to have Serjeant Pratt made the judge in his court; but if Mr. Eyres‡ has a mind to it he shall like him as well; but in that case Serjeant Pratt must be Queen's Serjeant, with a promise of the next Judge's place. This he says Sir Thomas Parker would say to me himself, as a great secret, and invited me in his name to dine to-morrow with only them two.

Sir John Hewen, who is named for this office, is of a peevish conceited temper; and, in the opinion of every one that knows him, is very likely to disagree with the chief justice, and be troublesome.

Mr. Fortescue added much good advice to your Grace, with relation to your daily attendance on the Queen, which it is unnecessary to repeat to one who is already so well disposed to perform all that matter very punctually.

* Afterwards May 19, 1718, Chief Justice of the Queen's Bench, and Lord Fortescue, 1746.

† Made Lord Parker and Lord Chancellor, March 6, 1710.

‡ Robert Eyre, Judge, May 12, 1710.

AN ACCOUNT OF THE DUCHESS OF MARLBOROUGH'S
INTERVIEW WITH THE QUEEN.

Good Friday, April 6, 1710.

Upon the 6th of April, 1710, I followed my letter to Kensington so soon that Her Majesty could not write another harsh letter, which I found she intended; I sent a page of the back stairs to acquaint Her Majesty that I was there. She was alone; however the man stayed longer than was usual upon such occasions, and then told me the Queen would have me come in. As soon as I opened the door, she said she was going to write to me. "Upon what, madam?" said I.

The Queen. I did not open your letter till just now, and I was going to write to you.

Lady Marlborough. Was there anything in it, madam, that you had a mind to answer?

The Queen. I think there is nothing you can have to say, but you can write it.

Lady Marlborough. Won't your Majesty give me leave to tell it you?

The Queen. Whatever you have to say you may write it.

Lady Marlborough. Indeed, I can't tell how to put such sort of things into writing.

The Queen. You may put it into writing.

Lady Marlborough. Won't your Majesty allow me to tell it you now I am here?

The Queen. You may put it into writing.

Lady Marlborough. I believe your Majesty never did so hard thing to anybody, as to refuse to hear them speak, even the meanest person that ever desired it.

The Queen. Yes, I do bid people put what they have to say in writing, when I have a mind to it.

Lady Marlborough. I have nothing to say, madam, upon the subject that is so uneasy to you; that person is not, that I know of, at all concerned in the account that I would give you, which I can't be quiet till I have told you.

The Queen. You may put it into writing.

Lady Marlborough. There are a thousand lies told of me, which are so ridiculous, that I should never have thought it necessary to go about to clear myself of what never entered into my head, and is so unlike my manner of talking of your Majesty, whom I seldom name in company, and never without respect; and I do assure your Majesty that there are several things which I have heard have been told to your Majesty that I have said of you, that I am no more capable of, than I am of killing my children.

I should have said, when I began to speak, after she had so unnecessarily repeated the same thing over and over again, that I might put what I had to

say in writing, when she saw I went on to tell her the thing, she turned her face from me as if she feared blushing upon something I might say to her.

The Queen. There are, without doubt, many lies told.

Lady Marlborough. Pray, Madam, tell me what you have heard of me, that I may not trouble you to repeat more disagreeable things than necessary.

The Queen. You said you desire no answer, and I shall give you none.

Lady Marlborough. I am confident your Majesty could not be so hard to me, if you could believe that 'tis only to do myself justice, and that I could convince you that I have no design of desiring any favour you are averse to.

The Queen. I will go out of the room.

Upon which I followed her to the door, where she stopped, and when I could speak, which I could not in some time, for the tears that fell down my face, at which I was sorry, but could not help it, (and I believe there are not many that would not have been as much moved at such strange usage), I appealed to her, if she did not believe herself that I might at this very moment have been as well with her as most people, if I had been capable of saying anything I did not think, or of taking such ways as others had done, which I thought was not for her service; that in my life I had never told her a lie;

what I had offended her in was, because I knew it was for her service and security ; and it was what she had heard a good deal of in Westminster Hall, and I could never repent of anything of that nature ; but I was incapable of saying such sort of things as I had heard she had been told, and from one that was a reasonable woman, and had a very good character, who was so much with some her Majesty favoured, that I had reason to believe what she said was not without ground ; and she had pressed me with much kindness to go to your Majesty and endeavour to vindicate myself, and to recover your favour, saying a great many reasonable things upon it, and seeming to think I had made many omissions, which I knew very well there is an appearance of ; but your Majesty, who knows what has passed between us, must know that I have had reason not to come to you to offer, as others expected from me. To all this, and a great deal more upon that subject, I only answered this lady, that she had an advantage of me, because I was not at liberty to justify myself, and I had, upon many occasions, rather choose to let people think I was to blame, than clear myself, which I could never do as long as I was her servant. I told this lady that gave me advice, that I believed she might have some reason for what she said ; but she did not tell me who were her authors, and I never pressed her to know, and much less

should I ask of your Majesty, who had said things to my prejudice. I only beg to know what you have heard, that I might be able to clear myself in anything in which I was wronged.

The Queen. You said you desire no answer, and I shall give you none.

THE DUKE OF MARLBOROUGH TO THE DUCHESS OF
MARLBOROUGH.

Hague, April 14, 1710.

I leave this letter to go by to-morrow's post. I am very sorry to tell you that the behaviour of the French looks as if they had no other design than that of carrying on the war. I hope God will be pleased to bless this campaign, for I see nothing else that can give us peace, either at home or abroad. I am so discouraged by everything I see, that I have never, during this war, gone into the field with so heavy a heart as I do at this time. I own to you that the present humours in England give me a good deal of trouble, for I cannot see how it is possible they should mend till everything is yet worse.

I had by the last post an address from Gloucester* sent me. I am impatient to know the manner it will be received; for, should it receive any encouragement, I fear it may be of dangerous consequences.

* Alluding to one of the violent addresses in favour of Sacheverell.

My fears now are for my country, and not for myself, for I have taken my resolution of suffering with those I am now joined withall.

I have staid here so long for Prince Eugene, that I have not time to go to Bruxelles, so that your next letters must be directed to the army. Will. Lovegrove and the rest of my servants being yet in England, makes me beg that you will send to Limbeck, that he may take care to send them over with the greatest expedition, for I shall be uneasy till they come. I am, with all my heart and soul, entirely yours.

LORD GODOLPHIN TO THE DUCHESS OF
MARLBOROUGH.

Newmarket, Saturday Morning, April 8-19, 1710.

I have received this morning the favour of your letter, with the enclosed from my Lord Townshend ; the other you mention, from Lord Marlborough, I think you did much better in sending it to 42 (the Queen) than to me. I can't help being very sorry for what you write of Mrs. Morley's behaviour, and am very easily persuaded of all you say of 13, for I know him to be a mean worthless wretch, and capable of any mischief. By the letters of this post from the Hague, they seem in Holland to be much persuaded that the war is to go on this summer ; but I must suspend

my opinion as to that, till I see ten days or a fortnight further. The weather here is not so warm, nor so good as I could wish it for you, to make the country agreeable to you, as well as quiet. I have gotten a little cold in coming down, but, otherwise, I thank God, I am in very good health. We have not yet seen nor heard of my Lady Hervey, but my Lord Carlisle,* who is here with us this year, is very agreeable upon these occasions, and of a very easy complaisant humour.

LORD SUNDERLAND TO THE DUCHESS OF
MARLBOROUGH.

Monday Noon, April, 1710.

I have seen Lord Treasurer since his coming to town, and by what he says I am fully convinced he knew nothing of this of the Duke of Shrewsbury, though I will own I should have been much better pleased if he had known of it; for, as it is, it seems striking at every thing. However, I think Lord Treasurer is perfectly in the right, that we must endeavour to weather it as well as we can, in order to preserve the parliament from being dissolved. I did assure Lord Treasurer that whatever he thought proper to be done, we would all stand by

* Charles Howard, third Earl of Carlisle.

him ; and I am sure it is the intention and resolution of our friends to do so. I must beg leave once more to renew my desires and wishes that you would come to town ; for it is of so much consequence, that I hope you won't be unwilling to have a little uneasiness ; and this great success of Lord Marlborough, which proves greater every post, is a very reasonable and just pretence for you to come to wish the Queen joy. I take it for granted you will be angry at what I say ; but I am sure I mean it sincerely, both for your service, as well as the public. I beg you, dear Madam, to pardon this, and to believe me to be most tenderly and affectionately yours.

MR. MAYNWARING TO THE DUCHESS OF
MARLBOROUGH.

Monday 12 o'clock, April 17th, 1710.

I have been with 38 (Godolphin) who shewed me 42 (the Queen's) letter to him at Newmarket, concerning 28 (the Duke of Shrewsbury), and his own answer to it, which is very long, and really a very good one as is possible.*

I then told him what I had heard, that Lord Isla

* The Queen, after the appointment of the Duke of Shrewsbury to the place of Lord Chamberlain, had written a letter concerning this appointment, to her prime minister, Godolphin, who was then at Newmarket, entirely ignorant of the matter.

said publickly that he was for removing the present ministry, which was a tyranny ; and that at a meeting, one of their company said they should be able to get out 240 (the Duchess), which they would drive at the more, because it would make 38* (Godolphin) quit, who could not serve after that. That it was their common discourse, that in a fortnight something more surprising would come out ; and that when 42 (the Queen) sent for Lord Kent,† she desired him to keep his staff a fortnight, because that would best suit with the schemes of her business. 39 (Marlborough) did not think it possible that 240 (the Duchess) should be removed, because 39 could not serve, but I think that would be a good argument for it with those people, because it would do so much mischief. I told him, however, this design of theirs explained the meaning of all the gross lies that had been lately made of 240, which certainly had made impression on 42, as appeared by her strange treatment of 240,‡ of which I supposed he had an account. He said, Yes, but not very particularly : so I told him some part of it, and how perfectly you had been in the right. He said he took 42's unwillingness to speak to proceed from

* "Rather 39 (Marlborough)."—*Coxe*.

† The Earl of Kent was dismissed to make way for the Duke of Shrewsbury.

‡ Alluding to the celebrated interview at Kensington.

her apprehension that 240 would enter upon some disagreeable points. I told him what care you had taken to prevent apprehension, by writing a most respectful letter, and to which he could not tell what to say. I hope I did not do wrong in all this, but if I did, pray tell me so plainly. It came out very naturally, and I had a mind he should see how perfectly you were in the right, and 42 in the wrong ; to see if he could make any use of it, and I thought you would not sufficiently set forth your own praises. I told him also, that 10 (Lord Rivers) had said again, that he wanted to speak to me, and asked his opinion whether I should let him or not. He said, Yes, there could be no harm in it, for I knew him well enough.

Then, upon the whole matter, we did entirely agree, which was, that the Whigs must unite more firmly upon this occasion ; and that none of them must think of quitting, which would be certain ruin, but rub on in this disagreeable way as well as they could. And he bid me talk to 6 (Lord Sunderland) upon that subject, which I have already done, and found him very reasonable, I have been since with 7 (Lord Wharton) who is entirely of the same mind ; and, indeed, I did not fear his quitting. But he says all the danger is of 15, whom I desired him to go and talk to, and as I went away I met—(*the rest missing.*)

MR. MAYNWARING TO THE DUCHESS OF
MARLBOROUGH.

Friday Morning, the 21st of April, 1710.

I had the honour of your Grace's letter last night, for which I return most humble thanks. You are certainly in the right, that 28 (the Duke of Shrewsbury) will never be true to the Whigs, who in that manner may be obliged to get the better even in another parliament, as they have just now in the Directors of the East India Company in the City, which is of much consequence. But tho' I make no doubt that 28 (the Duke of Shrewsbury) will gain the favour, and perhaps the inclinations, of 42 (the Queen), I think if he declare himself a Tory, there are so many secret arrows that may be shot at him, that he will soon be beaten down, and if he pretends to act with the Whigs, it will be so insincere and awkward an alliance that it will not last; so that in either case his reign will be but short, unless 42 (the Queen) should, by a new spirit of infatuation, grow personally fond of him. And he is so very improper a person to be chosen for the wise ends she proposes in it, as she says in her letter to 38 (Godolphin) which is, to allay our present heats and differences, that no one thing could have been done which would have set the parties so keen against one

another. But now that is done, and he has his place, I think he will trim and shuffle between them as well and as long as he can, professing and lying on both sides, and making his court all the while to 42 (the Queen) by doing so, which 200 (Mr. Boyle) says is the only way to gain her favour; pretending at the same time, if he had not leaned more to 38 (Godolphin) and 39 (Marlborough), in the late disputes, than people think he had, but had stood quite neuter, he should have had more interest than he has at this time. And if this be the humour of 42 (the Queen), 28 (Duke of Shrewsbury) will soon give into it, and, if one can guess anything by Mr. Masham, he has certainly a mind to make his court to 39 (Marlborough), for he has written to him to beg a favour, asking first whether his letter will be received and not thought improper, and he has desired to speak with Mr. Craggs, which he is to do to-morrow. And if he is not quite an idiot he will rather desire that his lady should live quiet, and get what she pleases, than be set up an odious spectacle to the world. And as the time is now near that she must either run into the measures of the Tories, or live at peace with others, I fancy 28 (Shrewsbury) will rather advise her to the latter course, which is confirmed by what your Grace says of Lady Hyde's calling her a fool that they could make nothing of. If 38 (Godolphin) never had a thought (as you be-

lieve he had not) of speaking to 42 (the Queen) upon 240 (the Duchess of Marlborough's) subject, and that 240 should as soon expect it from * *

LORD SUNDERLAND TO THE DUCHESS OF
MARLBOROUGH.

Friday, April 14-25, 1710.

This morning you received the good news of Lord Marlborough's having forced the French lines on Monday last ;* I beg leave to congratulate with you upon it, not only on it being very great in itself, but as being so seasonable ; for as it will make Lord Marlborough master of his enemies abroad, so it can't fail of doing so of those at home, provided his friends here will take this opportunity of exerting themselves.

I have been very much out of order, or I would have waited upon you at the Lodge this week, but I will not fail doing so sometime the next, if you are still in the country, which I hope you will not be, for, indeed, your being here is of more consequence than can be imagined ; and I am sure you have not a friend in the world but that thinks so ; and particularly at such a time as this, when upon this good success

* The Duke passed the French lines, without any loss, on the 20th of April, and entered the Plains of Lens.

Lord Marlborough's enemies are more mortified than can be expressed, and that by coming back you would have the double satisfaction of pleasing your friends and mortifying your enemies.

To-day, at the back stairs, I met the sovereign,* who was pleased to take me aside and to honour me with a long and very gracious conversation, which is not worth troubling you with. All I gather from it is, that the juntilla is not so apish as they have been, upon this news.

LORD SUNDERLAND TO THE DUCHESS OF
MARLBOROUGH.

Thursday, April 27, 1710.

I am to thank you for two very kind letters, if the last can be called so, which hindered us from waiting on you at Windsor. However I hope the same reasons will not always continue, and that you will allow us to come, in case you don't come back, which would be much the best, and most agreeable to all your friends, and have more good consequences than you can imagine.

I think your notion that the Queen should yet be persuaded to stop these addresses, is perfectly right ; but whether we are ever to expect again to

* Duke of Somerset.

see any right thing done, God knows. I am sure the likeliest way to bring anything about that is good, would be your coming to town, if it were only to stop the mouths and the insolent prating of your enemies against you and all your friends.

I am very glad you have written to Lord Treasurer about the garter for Lord Orford, because he does now seem very much disposed to do his best to bring it about; and I am sure anything from you will hasten him. And for Lord Orford himself, you judge very right of him, for there is nobody more deserving, and who, I am sure, will always deserve particularly well of you.

Our new great man* continues to make great professions; but I believe it proceeds from his fearful temper more than his heart.

LORD GODOLPHIN TO THE DUCHESS OF
MARLBOROUGH.

Sunday, past Two, April, 1710.

I have obeyed your commands, in returning your letters as soon as I had time to read them.

I think nothing can be written stronger and more to the purpose, at present, than Lord M's letter; and nothing can be more just than your annotations

* The Duke of Shrewsbury.

and observations upon it; but whether they will augment or allay the present fury, I am not able to judge; I wish only it were possible it could have as much effect as I have an inclination to obey and please you.

I will call at your lodgings before I go up stairs; possibly your company may be gone, if not, I will not trouble you.

MR. MAYNWARING TO THE DUCHESS OF
MARLBOROUGH.

Friday Evening, 1710.

I hope your Grace had a good journey to your delightful lodge, and that you will enjoy more happiness there than such a Court as this could afford, if your usage in it were the reverse of what it was lately,* and every way as good and as agreeable as you deserve. And though I cannot help wishing still that you had power there, I will fairly confess it is more for the sake of your friends and the public, than for yourself; for I verily believe you can pass your time with more satisfaction, either quite alone, or with a very few acquaintance; but I certainly know that no other person will ever use favour so honestly, so usefully, or so generously as yourself. This makes

* Alluding probably to the interview at Kensington, so that this letter must have been written some time in April.

the present situation of affairs the more intolerable, because, as everything is said to be good or bad by comparison, when one considers who is now out of favour, and who is in, and what are their several qualities and perfections, it is pretty difficult not to blaspheme. David said, when he saw the wicked in such prosperity, his foot had almost slipped; and this was one of his arguments for a future state; but I do not see how that is any ease to the melancholic scenes that one passes through in this life, and of which everybody has, as here, in one kind and degree or another. I believe those have the least of it who are like the person you received a letter from as you were coming out of town, who are brutal and selfish, without nature, principle, or humanity. But then, as such have less trouble than others, they want the pleasure which people better made receive from benefits, well-placed kindness returned, constancy of friendship, and love of truth. Your Grace's new acquaintance, Plato, has written a book called his Republic, which is not in the volume you have, nor in English, that I know of; and I remember the first thing he requires of the people, as the foundation of a government he would erect, is truth, which he says, is the first and most necessary principle of all virtue and morality in the world. And I have read of a law among the Persians which I am sure you will like, that whoever was proved to have told

three lies, was condemned, under the highest penalty, never to speak another word while he lived. Though your Grace would lie in no great danger from such a law, I am afraid it would be the occasion that most of your acquaintance, except 78 (me), would ever lose the use of language. I have not seen, nor shall see, anybody to-day ; so that I can write no news by this letter, which I will send by one of your servants in the morning, and what I pick up to-morrow shall go by the post at night. I wish I could do anything whilst I live in the world to serve or entertain you ; but I shall never be so happy. I was very sorry to see, before I had done walking, that the wind turned more towards the north. I wish your cold does not increase in a place that is not warm.

THE DUKE OF MARLBOROUGH TO THE DUCHESS OF
MARLBOROUGH.

May 8, 1710.

By the discourse of 221 (Duke of Argyle), there are to be very quickly many alterations at 91 (the Court), though I can hardly think people are so mad. However, letters from you will always be expected with great impatience. I have nothing new from here to send you, for that I am with all my heart and soul yours, is what I persuade myself you do me the justice to believe.

LADY COWPER TO THE DUCHESS OF MARLBOROUGH.

May 14, 1710.

I own myself very much concerned at your Grace's intention to stay so long at Windsor, as I really believe all your friends here are. I cannot but lament extremely the great want the public will have of so good an advocate with the Queen as you are, at this critical time, when our safety depends so much on the assistance and advice of good friends : and your Grace having ever been acknowledged by those of the honest interest as one of their greatest supports, I cannot but wish (though I agree with you, the sort of life you mention is much the pleasantest) that you would leave your delightful retirement, and come again to town, now the public stands most in need of your assistance, to disappoint your enemies, and shew them we owe our safety, both at home and abroad, to the Duke of Marlborough. I dare not pretend to press upon your Grace farther on this subject : I am afraid I have already gone too far ; but I hope, Madam, you will believe that it is my zeal for your service and the prosperity of the kingdom that has made me venture to say so much of myself ; and it would be the greatest satisfaction to me if I could flatter myself that anything I could say to your Grace, would have the least weight towards bringing you to town, where I really believe your presence necessary.

THE DUKE OF MARLBOROUGH TO THE DUCHESS OF
MARLBOROUGH.

Brussels, May 17th, 1710.

I have, this morning, had the happiness of your two letters of the 30th. The true reason of my writing for Lord Orkney was, that I promised his lady. I am much obliged to you for your expressions on this occasion, and I do in return assure you, that I would venture every thing to make you happy. What you say concerning my brother is very reasonable, but there is no avoiding nature, I can say.

MR. MAYNWARING TO THE DUCHESS OF
MARLBOROUGH.

May, 1710, Wednesday Night.

I dined to-day with Lord Sunderland, where there was only Lord Coningsby, Mr. Smith, and Mr. Walpole. The first two were in very good humour, and do promise fair, that they will continue so. The former of them had seen the Queen, who assured him twice over that she had no thoughts of dissolving the parliament, nor would hear any one talk to her upon that subject. I have heard that Mr. St. John said yesterday, in a rant, that he would go into the country, and stay there, so that I believe, upon the whole, their scheme is upon a full stop for the present. The Lord Treasurer sent for

me just before dinner, and when I came, said it was upon a very small occasion, for it was chiefly to know whether I had seen Lord Sunderland since his conversation with the Duke of Somerset, which he was to have this morning. I told him no. Then he talked easily upon several things, and of the Queen, said her letter to him was certainly her own writing, and that he believed they had no way to drive her farther at this time, unless they would propose something to her which she would like extremely, that would perhaps have a consequence which she could not foresee at the time of doing it. I said that there could be no likelihood of her doing any thing of moment whilst he was about her, without telling him, unless she resolved first to part with him, to which he seemed to agree. He said Mr. Boyle had been with him, and that upon discourse what method was best to take with the Duke of Shrewsbury, he appeared to be for living well with him, but said, at the same time, that he thought the first overtures of a good correspondence ought to come from the Duke of Shrewsbury to him, which is certainly right, and he thinks so, and said one thing which I liked, that he had been this morning with the Lords, and assured them that he would not make any step with the Duke but in concert with them all, dealing with them very openly. I find Lord Wharton is to be a Marquis, which he bid me

not mention to any one ; but it will look better just now than at another time. He said he had mentioned your Grace's lover's* being a Duke, but it was not liked, upon which I said he had spoke to me yesterday upon the same subject, and that I had put him off, thinking upon it now, because what was done for Lord Kent, was intended as a recompense for the loss of his office, which would appear much less if another had the same favour just with him, and therefore the Queen would certainly refuse it to anybody upon this occasion. I found the old Vice† had been with him to claim it for his brother, at which I could not help saying, how little he deserved it. And he was yesterday with the Queen about the same ridiculous business. But that is a pretension that can at no time succeed, because it is impossible that those in power should ever think it reasonable to put his odious brother at the head of all the Dukes, not forgetting the Sovereign (the Duke of Somerset) himself. And now I am returned to him I can tell your Grace the good news, that Lord Sunderland says he speaks mighty well of 13 (Duke of Somerset), and that he was above three hours with him, in which he received the greatest professions of friendship to him and the Whigs, and an utter abjuration of Mr. Harley, whom he swears he

* The Marquis of Lindsey.

† Bertie, who was the brother of Lord Lindsey.

only met by chance at the Duke of Argyle's, but neither there, nor any where else, ever spoke with him of any business. And Lord Sunderland says further, that he talked coldly enough of the Duke of Shrewsbury, said he took him to come in as a Whig; but if he proved otherwise he would have nothing to do with him. In short, everybody is well with the Duke of Somerset but Lord Godolphin, who Lord Sunderland says continues still in disgrace.

This is all I know to-day, and wish this bustle were over, that I might have time to write of the acts and sayings of the philosophers, instead of the follies and knaveries of politicians like the Sovereign (the Duke of Somerset). The former is an employment that really does me good, and that I want; the latter is at best but a secretary's office, which I should be sorry to hold under anybody but your Grace, whom I will serve as long as I live, in that or any other capacity in which I may be of the least use. And the world would be much more at quiet than it is, if every one were as much at the height of his ambition as your faithful servant.

MR. CRAGGS TO THE DUCHESS OF MARLBOROUGH.

London, May 18, 1710.

It is a very great obligation, Madam, you laid upon me by the honor of your letter of yesterday's date, where you are pleased to assure me that you will, for the future, employ me as one you think a faithful servant to your Grace and Lord Marlborough. It's what I am very proud to own, and should be most happy in any opportunity to shew, and if it happens in nothing else, I am sure it will always be evident in my inclinations. I have given orders to an agent of the commissioners for the sick and wounded to give Richard Heath credit for what he desires at Dinan, as also to bring him home by the first occasion; and shall take care to have the Chancery give orders to Mr. Guy to pay it. Mr. Boscawen is in a very right way at present, and, of course, very zealous in it; but I think he is extremely mistaken when he supposes that if this present parliament be dissolved, we shall be able to deal with the adversary in the next elections. I will be bold to foresee, as the common people are now set, they will get at least three for one; so that the greatest wisdom will be shewn, and the greatest benefit will attend the public, by effectually preventing a dissolution; for, in my opinion, that will be the

very next service to the public interest and liberty of all honest Englishmen, as winning even a decisive battle upon the Plains of Lens ;* and, if that be really the case, how very desirous must it be to a generous mind like yours, to be instrumental in bringing such a service to pass.

I give your Grace ten thousand thanks for pardoning what you are pleased to call reflections upon your philosophers ; but I must beg leave to tell you, that my meaning is too narrowly applied by your Grace, and was more aimed at the junto, who have seen their very best friend in danger, without so much as attempting a rescue ; and I have taken the liberty to tell them so, and they do not so much as attempt to give reasons to the contrary, but I am afraid their interest is very weak. And then the best understanding goes for very little, but an honest attempt is in everybody's power ; and even that will give great satisfaction to noble minds. It is with philosophers as it is with great mathematicians, they can draw very good schemes upon paper, and shew very plainly what ought to be done, but they very often miscarry in putting their designs in execution ; which comes up in some degree to judge Watson his notion of having every sense but common sense ; for to talk reason to fools, preach honesty to knaves, or commend generosity to misers,

* The Duke was at this time on the Plains of Lens, with the army.

will have very little effect, which will very plainly shew that the persons you have to speak with are very principally to be considered ; or the business you are to bring about will most inevitably miscarry.

It is enough to distract one to consider, that Mr. Harley and Mrs. Masham, and their creatures, shall reap the benefits of the greatest and most glorious actions that ever were performed, where they were no more instrumental than their coach-horses. But when we consider who wears the crown, and perverts that power which those victories have given it, to support sycophants and flatterers, who had no other ways of making their fortunes, it is not enough to say the prince is ungenerous or ungrateful, and the counsellors are base and perfidious villains ; but certainly wise men and true patriots would leave no stone unturned to attempt the prevention of such dreadful consequences as must attend such false and fatal councils. I wish they be not too far gone already ; and if it happens so, I dare say your Grace will be convinced in a very little time, that the mischiefs which will certainly happen to this now glorious, then unhappy country, had been better prevented at almost any expence.

As to my Lord Duke in particular, I think it will immortalize his name to quit everything to these scoundrels, after he has procured a good peace,

which will certainly happen before this campaign ends. But I am clear on the other side, that it will undo this nation, which, ungrateful as it is, he would be concerned to see; for to think my Lord Treasurer can support it, after my Lord Duke lays down, is to suppose he can carry it on his own back, and yet there will be nobody equal to him left; and so I think it's entirely reduced to your Grace's notion, that if my Lord Shrewsbury will come heartily into my Lord Marlborough, Lord Treasurer, and the Whigs, we may be saved; but if they force my Lord Duke to quit, I believe this will become a very distracted country in a very short time.

THE DUCHESS OF MARLBOROUGH TO
MR. MAYNWARING.

Saturday Morning, the 20th of May, 1710.

I have written to my Lord Treasurer about my Lord Dunmore, which is the third time: and I really believe of himself he has inclinations to serve this family: therefore, if he cannot succeed, I must believe it be from nothing but want of power to do it. I am not very fond of 6's (Lord Sutherland) project about Lord Orkney, first, because I think there is one very good man before him, that at least

has more humanity than all the officers in the army together, and that is Mr. Weathers ; and next, because I think there is very little difference between a fool and a knave : for, whosoever is the first will be the last, whenever they are worth an ill man's following ; as may be seen in the case of 13 (Duke of Somerset) and of his governor.* But this is what does come to bear ; and before it happens, perhaps 39 (Marlborough) may have nothing to do in those matters ; whenever it does, Lord Orkney is the most covetous wretch in nature, and I think there does not need to be a greater instance of it than for a man of quality, who has had a good post, to marry that woman for mere money ; and when 39 (Marlborough) had done all in nature to oblige them she governs ; and unless he would do something that was impossible, he would be against him ; as he has been, notwithstanding a thousand obligations, and there is no difference between Lord Orkney and the other, that 6 would have mortified, but that one can say nothing that is pointed, but as he is bid ; and the other has spirit and art. But I think 39 is right enough to do as you say he does for the present, because it is too hard a task to quarrel with all the

* Lord Rivers.

knaves, fools, and madmen at once, tho' he were an Emperor. What 6 (Lord Sunderland) says of the elder* brother's reasons for what he did, I don't very well comprehend neither, for I hear he is honest, and will not betray his party, and if that be what use can government make of Jacobites.

But let that be as it will, 39 has given a great government to the younger† brother, and your sister, the philosopher, was to see me the day 78 (Maynwaring) was to have come, so that he had a great loss by not being here. She was very wise and cautious, and very disagreeable as is possible, had a great mind to learn my mind upon the change in politics; but I would talk to her of any thing but of the great Duchess here: at which I saw she was very peevish; though she would say nothing herself. Since that, I returned her visit in the company of the Duke of St. Albans. They were very easy and civil; but one must be terribly covetous to live as she does, and have nothing but three daughters, that indeed will want a great deal of money, if they must marry. What you write to-day of the sovereign and his company at dinner, is not of a piece with the last letters; and 'tis certain if 89 (the Whigs) think of continuing in the government, that fool must be exposed and run down: there is no

* Duke of Hamilton.

† Lord Arch. Hamilton.

other way to deal with him ; but as long as 89 (the Whigs) fear an ill Parliament, nothing can be done but by gaining 28 (Duke of Shrewsbury) which I believe is impossible, tho' I find 6 (Sunderland) is pretty well satisfied with him, I wish I may be mistaken in my opinion. But what a melancholy reflection it is for 89 (the Whigs) that now their fate depends upon gaining a man, that t'other day they would have flown over the top of the house if anybody had proposed his coming into employment. Since their bottom is not very strong, or else we apprehend shadows ; if the first, I think they have been very much to blame to 38 (Godolphin) and 39 (Marlborough) ; if the last, they must yield to 28 (Shrewsbury) just come into the service.

THE DUKE OF MARLBOROUGH TO THE DUCHESS OF
MARLBOROUGH.

May 26, 1710.

We have as yet no account of what the French ministers have declared at Gertruydenberg, but by what we hear from Paris, of the great expectations they have there of hearing, as they call it, good news from Spain, I fear they will not be in earnest till they see what they can do this campaign in that country. The Mareschal de Villars is very bountiful in his threats, he having a numerous army ; but

we have had so much time to take our precautions, that I am very confident we shall oblige him to be a spectator of the loss of this town,* though we apprehend it may hold out till the tenth of the next month. You will have heard of the cardinal of Bouillon's coming to the camp. He did two days ago write a letter to the King of France, in which he sent him back the order of the St. Esprit, and his quitting the office of Lord Almoner of France. The letter is written with such strong expressions, as I should think will make the King of France very angry. This cardinal may be of use to the Emperor and the King of Spain at Rome, where he intends to go, otherwise I see no other advantage this can be to the common cause.

The neighbourhood of the French may make some write so as may alarm you. But pray believe me, that our situation at this time is so advantageous, we shall have no action before the taking of this place, unless they act contrary to reason, which were to be wished, for in all probability, we should have the advantage, which would put a happy end to this war. I am ever yours.

* Douay, which was invested on the 23rd of April, and surrendered on the 26th of June.

THE DUKE OF MARLBOROUGH TO THE DUCHESS OF
MARLBOROUGH.

May 29, 1710.

Since my last I am obliged to you for three of yours, as well as for the enclosed letter, by which I see there are great inclinations amongst almost all your friends, that you should, in appearance, live easy with Mrs. Masham. I did, in a former letter, desire you would not take anything of this so ill as to have disputes and coldness with them; but as to my opinion, I think you judge entirely right of this whole matter, and you may be sure that I will govern myself accordingly. For to be emperor of the world I would not give reason for people to believe any consideration would make me truckle to Mrs. Masham. I can, for the good of my country and friends, live so as not to seem to know they are in the world. What you write as to the judge and solicitor, to me seems plainly that Shrewsbury has full power over the Queen, and if he can be managed by his timorous nature to do good, I think the circumstances of the time require it; and if his power should be thought so great with the Queen, as I believe it is, the only way to lessen it is to put him upon doing what is good. You nor nobody can be more dissatisfied with the court than I am, who have no

thoughts but that of making it easy, which is, to have nothing to do with it.

If Shrewsbury intends to keep any measure with you and me, he will make it his business not to suffer Sunderland to be removed, but when the time may be proper for the taking off of the mask, his being put out will be the first step.

I have so resented the behaviour of 221 (the Duke of Argyle) that nobody converses with him but such as are angry with me. The son of the Duke of Somerset has lately taken an opportunity of making professions to me. I believe it proceeds from himself, and not from any instructions from his father, who is certainly a very ill-judging man. The principal intentions of you and me should be to give as little offence as possible, but not to expect either favour or justice from the court. May you be happy and love your humble servant is what I most desire.

THE DUKE OF MARLBOROUGH TO THE DUCHESS OF
MARLBOROUGH.

May 30, 1710.

Since my last I have had the pleasure of yours of the 10th, and I take this occasion of thanking you for the method you take of sending me several letters, which has given me a good deal of insight into what

is doing in England. The enclosed is what you desired should be sent back, but you have not in any of yours mentioned what it was that 13 (Duke of Somerset) said or did to you, which this letter does no other ways explain than by calling it unreasonable and disagreeable to 39. I hear of so many disagreeable things, that makes it very reasonable both for myself and you to take no steps but what may lead to a quiet life. That being the case, am I not to be pitied, that am every day in danger of exposing my life for the good of those who are sealing my ruin. God's will be done! If I can be so blessed as to end this campaign with success, things must very much alter to persuade me to come again at the head of an army.

You will hear by the letters of this post, that the French marched with a resolution to have attacked us last Friday, but when they came in sight of us, their minds changed, finding us much stronger* encamped than they thought we were. They have sent an express to the King of France, with their reasons for not attacking us, of which I have sent a copy to Lord Treasurer.

* Villars made a feint of attacking the English on Friday, May 19, whilst they were besieging Douay, but found their lines too strong to afford any hopes of success.

THE DUCHESS OF MARLBOROUGH PROBABLY TO
MR. MAYNWARING.

Tuesday, May, 1710.

I have been obliged to write so much to-day that I am quite tired, and I write only because I said I would, for 'tis not very necessary to trouble you with my notions, and I have nothing to contradict in yours, since in your letter to-day I find you are now just of my opinion in all these matters that give so much disturbance to all our friends. I don't very well understand why 273 (Walpole) put 42 (the Queen) in the way of sending a commission to 39 (Marlborough) that is forcing him to do an unreasonable thing; if it were a justice, she would be in the right, but to make 39 (Lord Marlborough) do favours every day of that kind, and say she would by no means do anything to make him uneasy, is perfect nonsense, and I can't reconcile her asking 273 (Walpole's) advice, and his saying he believed it might have been prevented if it had not been for 38 (Godolphin), for he could not know what she would say to Walpole, who might certainly have ventured 38's anger upon that subject, for what he advised in it must proceed from judging wrong and thinking it was to no purpose to struggle; and not that he thought 256 (Mrs. Masham's) relations were worth obliging, or that it could be easy to 39 (Lord Marl-

borough) who has wrote me word that he could not comply, and he repented the first step he made of that kind. I think the best thing that can happen for Hill is to have it fall quiet, and to have another thousand pounds a year for it, which as I have often heard will suit his humour better than following the war, and I think if Lord Marlborough can't be supported without the help of 199 (Harley) and 256 (Mrs. Masham), humble dependants upon 28 (Duke of Shrewsbury), I should rather wish to be in the situation of 31 (the Duke of Kent), if he had any complaint of being too old; but I believe one may yet live to see a great deal of trouble, and therefore I resolve to take the fresh air and be easy as long as I can. When the court comes here I shall remove, which will be in a little while, and my next habitation my friends may come to without much inconvenience or trouble.

MR. MAYNWARING TO THE DUCHESS OF
MARLBOROUGH.

Friday Morning, May, 1710.

Looking upon your Grace's last letter, I could not help taking much notice of one expression, that your friends would shew true kindness to you, if they would let you follow your own inclination,

which is to be any where in *quiet* ; and I, that wish nothing so much in this world as your happiness, can no sooner be informed what will conduce to it, but my thoughts immediately turn to that view, and nothing else. Therefore, as I have wished you would live in another way, because I really thought it best for you and all your friends, not without some prospect of particular satisfaction to myself ; so, since I think that is impossible, that your difficulties are not to be overcome, nor your first aversions conquered, I promise you I will be so far from troubling you any more with useless arguments, or arguing upon a disagreeable subject, that I will employ the time you will allow me to spend in writing to you, upon subjects more proper for your present purpose—the folly and slavery of courts, the ingratitude of princes, and of one, above all others, the pleasures of repose and quiet, and the use that may be made of meditation in a silent retired life.

* * * * *

I write these few words by the coach. I am concerned for what you say of yourself, that you were not very well on Sunday, and did not know how you might become if your mind were not set at ease, which would be a full answer to all my arguments, and ever put an end to them effectually, tho' I had as much desired the reconciliation as the D. of S. had of the staff, who told the D. of Rich-

mond yesterday, when he put him in mind of what he used to say, that he would never turn any one out of his place; that he did not think he had broke that resolution, because he thought the Bug* was nobody.

MR. MAYNWARING TO THE DUCHESS OF
MARLBOROUGH.

Monday Morning, Eight o'clock, May, 1710.

Many thanks to your Grace for the honour of your letter which I received last night; but I believe I shall not have time to write much now, for I have just sent to Lord Treasurer to desire to speak with him, and need not say that I will tell you all that I know afterwards, if I have time, by the coach; and notwithstanding all that 78 (I) say of Godolphin to 240, if Godolphin should be in any public difficulties, which I believe is not impossible, nobody ever took more pains than 78 (I) would do to serve him. And if he does not take right resolutions now, I think he is undone; and so I will tell him, and several things I heard yesterday, which I will write to you. It is certain that Harley's people think and talk of putting him out immediately, and

* "This must mean the D. of Kent, who was dismissed his office of Lord Chamberlain, to make way for the D. of Shrewsbury; he was nicknamed Bug."—*Coxe*.

240 (you) also. But I cannot think the new chamberlain will be made to drive so furiously; but will rather, now he is in, hearken to any terms of accommodation with 38 (Godolphin) and 39 (Marlborough), which I own beforehand I think is the best that can be made of this bad bargain, than undertake great matters with the Tories. Though the old Vice told me yesterday that he is engaged with them—that he must go on, and that 13 (Duke of Somerset) will be dropped by them in a month; just after which, I heard a whisper from among the Tories that made me laugh, that Bromley would certainly have the old Vice's Teller's place, and that the Duke of Bedford (as Lord Dorset calls him) was to be Master of the Horse. If the Tories should ever come in, most people will be pleased with these changes; and I remember, at the beginning of the reign, the Queen was not much kinder to the Vice, but would have given his place to Mr. How. I asked him why he would report so senseless a lie of 240 (the Duchess) to Lady Wharton. He said he did not report it as if he believed it, but as an invention of 240's enemies.

Whilst I am writing this, I am greatly interrupted by your Grace's packet this morning. I did not intend to have put you to expence with Estcourt's compliment; and since there was nothing else, what he meant, must be your favour to him at his play.

But you are very generous, and the money will do the poor man good, and therefore I am glad he has it. I am pleased to find that you are of my opinion as to the change; and I do perfectly agree with all your reasoning about 28 (Duke of Shrewsbury) and the dangerous consequences that this matter may have to the Whig interest; and I think you exactly foretell how this whole affair will end, if there be not the greatest care in the world. And as you wish you could see plainly how we shall get out of this difficulty, I wish just the same. (*the rest missing*).

MR. MAYNWARING TO THE DUCHESS OF
MARLBOROUGH.

* * * * *

also, who was next after Col. Hill. This, by the way, was certainly the Duke of Somerset's advice, who fancies he made Honeywood a Colonel, and so it was to look like no partiality to Colonel Hill. He* represented, upon this, the great inconvenience that this might bring upon the service; that it was possible there were twenty German and Dutch colonels older than Colonel Hill, who would not serve under

* Walpole, whose interview with the Queen, on the promotion of Col. Hill, is the subject of this letter. See Walpole's own account of it in Coxe's Mem. of Sir R. Walpole.

him ; and what perplexity this must bring upon the Duke of Marlborough, to whom he wrote to lay her command, and therefore begged she would stay for his answers. "Did you write to him, then?" said she. "I thought not." "Not on Tuesday, Madam, but the next Friday, by your express order ; and you said particularly, that if he had any reasons against it you would acquiesce." "O yes ; I remember something of it now ; but I am very well assured there can be no ill consequences from it, any farther than people have a mind to make them, and I will have it done ; and I tell you plainly, but you shall not mention it to any mortal, that I have stopped signing all the other commissions purely upon this account." "I beg you, madam, not to think of it until you have heard from the Duke of Marlborough. What a surprise and hardship would it be to him to have commissions sent over for brigadiers under him, without his knowledge. He has hitherto been very successful, and does not deserve to be made contemptible." "Well, then I will do nothing till I hear, but positively I will sign none of the others." She then would have had the companies, that were ordered out of Lord Ila's regiment to go with Lord Shanon, not to be disposed of. And upon this, he argued with her a great deal, and very well ; and did convince her it was very shameful, and what any other colonels would take ill, not only to be excused

himself from serving, but to have none of his own men serve. She asked who were at the council, when these men were ordered to go. He said all the lords but the Dukes of Somerset and Shrewsbury. "Was the Duke of Queensbury there?" said she. "Yes madam," he said. She answered that he was not there. It was plain, by this account, that speaking to her would do good, for the last point he carried clear, and the first he got to be delayed, which Lord Godolphin told him it was to no purpose to strive about. And he says now, by all means the Duke of Marlborough must advance Col. Hill, and that it is better to do with a good grace, what will be put upon him if he does not; and that was the reason why Mr. Walpole did not write to you to-night, least you should write to the Duke to hinder it. Therefore I hope you will take no notice of anything in this letter. It is plain there is nothing so much endeavoured as to put hardships on the Duke of Marlborough; and I believe, except Lord Godolphin, there is not one who speaks to the Queen, who would not take off his head. And though you wrote Lord Sunderland word that it was impossible for you to do any good, I do believe your absence at this time, has given opportunity and means for mischief to sprout, which younger men than I will not see an end of. The Duke of Somerset's princess was shut up with the Queen when Mr. Walpole went to her.

MR. MAYNWARING TO THE DUCHESS OF
MARLBOROUGH.

The old Vice has had another conversation with Hoppy,* but not so high as the former, he only insists now that the Whigs should take in the Duke of Shrewsbury, by which I believe his Grace is already sick of his new allies. But I did not explain myself right if I said your Grace's friends desired to be reconciled with Abigail; what I meant was only that which the Duke of Devon said to Mr. Walpole, which was upon occasion of a senseless report that Abigail had left the Tories. He thought that could never happen unless you were friends with her, but he thought it too much to expect from you, and I did not see how it was practicable; and I do not know or believe that any of the Whigs think of strengthening themselves by making use of her, nor will they need it if they are true to one another, and others who have power do not still play the old game of dividing them. Those that would not receive her when they might are not most likely to make court to her: and I hear not only 200 (Mr. Boyle), but Mr. Smith and Lord Coningsby talk now as much against the Lords as ever.

* * * * *

* Secretary Hopkins?

*and when 273 (Walpole) asked 200 (Boyle) what they could mean by it, since it was not now striving for the second place under 38 (Godolphin), and 39 (Marlborough), but for the whole, 200 (Boyle) confessed that was true, but did not say they would leave off keeping that ridiculous division in that party.

I am very sorry to trouble your Grace with this melancholic letter of Mr. Vanburgh's, nor can I desire anything upon it, but that you will please to put my Lord Treasurer in mind that since he has promised that he will do something for him, he may as well do it soon, as three months hence.

I was very glad to see this inclosed paper in print. The two new persons that are added to it by Lord Wharton, are Lord Pawlet and Lord Isla.

I send your Grace the two city addresses † that are so much talked of, but not yet presented. You will observe great difference in the stile of them, for that from the lieutenancy is a very good one, but the other is not English nor sense ; but it is as good as any of that party could make till the sovereign and the ministers came in to their assistance. Attempts have been made in Surrey and Shropshire to get such addresses, but, if they are signed at all, it is by much the less number of the gentlemen ; and if some

* " On a separate paper, but apparently in continuation."—*Coxe*.

† The addresses against the Whigs, which were got up in all parts of the country, on the dismissal of Sunderland.

examples were made of turning out of the commissions of peace, etc., the ringleaders of this faction, it would soon cease. I send your Grace also the Cornish address in print, in which you will see what care was taken to distinguish the fine strokes by high letters. A little spirit would correct and cure all this madness. But when you are in the country, there is here no genuine virtue of the rigorous kind.

THE DUCHESS OF MARLBOROUGH TO QUEEN ANNE.

June, 1710.

Though I have not had the honour of an answer to my last letter, I hope your Majesty will forgive me if I can't help troubling you once more upon the same subject, because it really seems to me, that nobody speaks to you at this time so freely as I should do, if it might have been allowed me; nor represents sufficiently the consequences of what you are doing. When your Majesty's affairs are in so good a way, and the war so near an end, as everybody thought it some months ago, sure nothing was so strange as your design to change your ministry, which must end in breaking a Parliament that has done every thing for your service and the good of Europe; and which all the reasonable people I have

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met with do agree, would be a most rash and desperate step for your Majesty to make at this time. And for God's sake, madam, what is it that you would do all this for? Can you be better served than you are already, or can any new ministers do any more? If it may not be proper for me to mention what Lord Marlborough has done, which may come better from others, I may tell your Majesty what I have lately heard for the honour of my Lord Treasurer from all the considerable men in the city, which is, that if he should be removed, they would not lend a farthing of money, that all their stocks would fall to nothing: and that if there were any money to be had, nobody could be found that would remit it, so that your army must starve, and you must be glad of any peace that the French would give you. And this is not my notion, but what all the substantial men declare of their own accord, and I believe I have said it to some of your ministers, for they affirm, and it is known to be true, that the whole interest and business of the city is now in the hands of such men as will not trust my Lord Rochester or Mr. Harley with a shilling; whereas they say that a minute of the Treasury is now looked upon as a real security. Therefore, pray, madam, consider seriously what you are doing, and what a precipice you are going upon. For it is in vain to say that you mean only to remove Lord Sun-

derland—the rest cannot stay in long after him; nor will those that can prevail with your Majesty to make such a step suffer this parliament to meet again. And since they cannot hope to persuade you by arguments to dissolve it, for which there is not the least pretence of reason, their artifice is to get something which will have that consequence, without acquainting you with it before hand. I never have a letter from Lord Marlborough, in which he does not speak of the mischiefs that this new scheme does to all the business abroad: and we should certainly have had a peace before this, if it had not been for the hopes which our enemies have of troubles and disturbances here. And I am really afraid of the ill effects that the mortifying accounts he receives every post from hence, may have upon his health and even his life: for I think he is in as much danger of having his heart broke, as of being hurt by the enemy. It must needs grieve any man to death, to see all the fruits of his long labours spoiled by such a scheme as this is, and if he should hear that his son-in-law is disgraced without any crime assigned, and only to gratify the spleen of some men, that at most must be said to have been very useless servants to your Majesty, I know not how he would be able to bear it. The weight he is under must needs be great as it is, from the vast business of all kinds that oppresses him, and the different humours

of all nations, and some of our countrymen that he has to struggle with, and who are every day encouraged from hence by your Majesty's new counsellors to give him all the trouble that is possible, and to torment him out of his life if they can. And if your Majesty should add to his trouble by giving him such a blow as this, and shewing all the world you have no consideration for him after all his faithful services, I know not what impression it may make upon him, nor how it can be reconciled with the professions you made to him at parting, and with your own character in the world, which I know you are desirous to maintain. It is not for me to say, what all mankind thinks of his services. But when I consider who your Majesty is going to turn out, and who to take into their places, I own it quite amazes me ; for you are removing the Duke of Newcastle, the Duke of Devonshire, Lord Orford, Lord Somers, Mr. Boyle, Lord Marlborough, and Lord Treasurer, and a great many more that have deserved well that I could name, to make way for the Duke of Leeds, and the Duke of Buckingham, Lord Rivers, Mr. Harley, and, which is still more strange, to make the Duke of Somerset a great man and a first minister. What can all this come to? I will say nothing more of the men I first named, nor of the last, than that I am very confident there is not such another collection as they and their followers in the

hopeful new scheme to be made again on the face of the whole earth.

And if your Majesty thinks you are only going to remove Lord Sunderland, and that the rest of his friends will still serve you whatever resolutions they may take upon that occasion, it is certain they cannot serve you long, for when once the parliament is dissolved and the credit of the nation lost, it will be in nobody's power to serve you, but the French will come upon you unawares. I heard a comparison of our credit, as it now stands, which I was pleased with. It was said to be like a green flourishing tree full of blossoms, which, upon the least change of ministry, would be nipped and blasted, as fruit is by a north east wind. And I was told of a very unlikely man to understand the matter of parties, that is Sir Godfrey Kneller, who, upon the news of Lord Sunderland's being out, was going to sell all he had in the stocks, but a friend advised him to stay till it was done. If such a man as this thinks of doing so, it is easy to imagine that the alarm will work very far. And I cannot for my soul conceive what your Majesty would do all this for. You have had nothing but wrong representations of the last affair that displeased you. Lord Marlborough did go out of town under great mortifications, which it is plain now were well grounded, and he left it to his friends to apply to your Majesty, and to consider what he should do. But I do affirm, none of them

ever proposed the address that has made so much noise ; but when others that were out of the service would have done something of that kind, our own friends stopped it. And if your Majesty would be pleased to be informed by those in your own service that knew anything of this matter, they will assure you that they never thought of any such thing nor ever will. It will be so far from securing anything you desire, that I protest if there be truth in any mortal, I have not spoken with one person who does not say he in his conscience believes it will occasion immediate ruin. Therefore, I once more beg your Majesty, for God's sake, to have a care what you do. I have no manner of interest of my own in what I say, nor will ask to see you oftener than is agreeable to you. But I have written all this for the sake of yourself and of your people in general, that I really take to be in utmost danger ; and it would be a dreadful calamity now that we are in view of peace and quiet, to have all undone nobody knows for what. If Lord Marlborough has deserved so ill, that those who have unaccountably got a credit with your Majesty, which they resolve to use every way against him, are to run him quite down, then these changes will be quite right. But if your Majesty thinks as I verily believe you do, that he should not be so treated, I hope you will no longer let it be in the power of others to mortify so old and good a servant.

LORD GODOLPHIN TO THE DUCHESS OF
MARLBOROUGH.

Thursday, at one, June, 1710.

Since I had written the former part of this letter, I have been to wait upon the Duke of Newcastle, who tells me, that last Monday he had a great deal of talk with the Duke of Shrewsbury, Mr. Harley, and Swallow,* all together, and it was to tell him the same thing. I was told yesterday, that the Queen was still earnest in the affair of Lord Sunderland.† I found by the Duke of Newcastle, that he expressed himself sincerely and heartily against it, but that the arguments he used turned chiefly against him that was named to succeed,‡ and not upon the main point, which relates to Lord Marlborough, tho' he says he did mention that also, to that company together. Upon this I tried to persuade him to go to the Queen, and try all that matter which relates to Lord Marlborough very plainly there, as I told him I did intend to do, but I was sure it would have, as it ought to have, much more weight from him, besides that, I knew by

* "Swallow, erased, seems to be a nickname for Lord D.—"
Core.

† The Earl of Sunderland was dismissed on the 14th of June.

‡ Lord Sunderland's place was given to Lord Dartmouth, son-in-law of the Earl of Nottingham, who was one of the Lord's Commissioners of Trade and Plantations.

experience, that whatever was said of the kind by me had less force with the Queen, who always imputed it to my natural partiality. He said he would go, but at the same time, I found that he would acquaint the Lord Chamberlain with it first, and if he meets there with any objection, I suppose the Duke of Newcastle will make some excuse to me. Swallow told me he was much pressed, and the Duke of Newcastle said the same, to succeed Lord Sunderland, but at the same time he would never do any thing of that consequence without my good liking and approbation. I answered him, that if it were at a time, and upon an occasion where it was possible for him to serve with me, that I should be extremely glad of his company, but this thing, in this manner, and at this time, would make it not possible upon the account of Mr. Freeman for me to serve, and therefore I owed that return to the frankness and sincerity which he had used to me, to let him know very plainly that it was neither my intention nor my opinion that he should accept; upon which he said he would go immediately and send his final answer to the Queen, which just now I hear he has done, for the Duke of Shrewsbury has been with me this minute to tell me so, adding, they will help to give some further delay to the Queen's intentions, which he still appears to wish may not be uneasy to Lord Marlborough. I have learnt, in

these several conversations,* so much more than I can write, and to-morrow shall still know more, that if you persist in not letting me come to you, I really begin to think it may be of use for you to come to town, in the next week at farthest, and, by what I hear, the Queen will not be long afterwards without going to Windsor.

LORD GODOLPHIN TO THE DUCHESS OF
MARLBOROUGH.

Monday Morning, (possibly June 12, 1710.)

Having been pretty much tired with my journey, I received the favour of your letter before I was up this morning. I will be sure to return the copies you sent me enclosed in this letter, if Mr. Hodges calls himself for my letter that I am now writing, and if not, I will not send it into the town by a servant, but bring it myself to you when I come to dine with you, which I designed to do upon the letter which I received from you at St. Albans ; but I did not know I should meet so much company there

* " In a letter from Godolphin to Marlborough he repeats this conversation, and says it was his friend and countryman Lord P. who was offered the seals. Lord Paulet's family possessed a seat at Buckland, Dorset, as well as Hinton, Somerset. By Collins, we find that he was offered several places of distinction before this time, and was at this time Lord Lieutenant of Devon, in which county Marlborough was born."—*Cowe*.

as I found last night, by Lord Sunderland, I am like to do ; for he told me he had spoken to those Lords to dine with you to-day at the lodge, who hoped for that favour yesterday at the castle, if you had been then there. I suppose, therefore, he has taken care to let you know it, if they come ; but I tell you just all that I have heard of it ; and for myself, I shall come to you as soon as I am at liberty here, from the Treasury and those people that expect to speak with me. I think the copy you have sent me is very just and true, and may do a great deal of good to everybody.* I know you will say that is what you don't care for ; and perhaps it is not in itself to be put into ballance with the rest, but I have my doubt, that while that remains as it is, nothing else will be as it should be.

Endorsed with the Duchess's own hand, on a separate paper.—

Two letters of the Earl of Godolphin, in which he approves of what I sent to the Queen.

I used to send my Lord Godolphin my letters to the Queen, before I sent them to her, to see if he would add or alter anything in them, after she came into hands that made it necessary to be cautious. Whoever knew him will easily believe that he never could have approved of anything from me that was disrespectful to the Queen, whatever they may think of my own passion or unreasonableness.

* "Possibly the letter the Duchess sent might be that which she wrote to the Queen, having date June 13, 1710, which was Tuesday."

—*Core.*

THE DUKE OF MARLBOROUGH TO THE DUCHESS OF
MARLBOROUGH.

June 15th, 1710.

We have received at the same time the two posts from England of the 26th and 30th. By yours, and those letters you send me, I find there are jealousies amongst our friends, which is always a forerunner of distraction. You certainly judge right, that whatever management 38 (Lord Treasurer) may have, he is in our true interests. I agree with you that there has always been a correspondence between Mr. Harley and the Queen, which makes it impossible for me ever to rely upon anything that the Queen may say or promise. In return for all the pains you take in giving me information of what passes, I have no return but that of my heart being entirely yours.

If I were to make the choice, I had much rather be turned out than Lord Sunderland should be removed; so that I hope all my friends will struggle with all their might and power; for if this point be carried, there is nothing disagreeable and ruinous but must be expected.

THE DUKE OF MARLBOROUGH TO THE DUCHESS OF
MARLBOROUGH.

June 20th, 1710.

Lord Treasurer having, by the Queen's command, acquainted me with her intentions, I have made an answer to his letter, by which you will see my resolution. I have not time to copy the letter, but have desired Lord Treasurer to communicate it to you. You will desire a copy, and if you think it of use to have it seen, I desire you would first advise with the Lord Treasurer, and agree who should see it; for I do not love to have my letters too public. I am uneasy to the last degree, but ever most faithfully and tenderly yours.

THE DUKE OF MARLBOROUGH TO THE DUCHESS OF
MARLBOROUGH.

Tournay, June 23rd, 1710.

I came to this place the day before yesterday, to confer with deputies sent from Holland, to raise money for the support of the Imperial and Palatine troops; they are returned this day to Gand, and I shall go back to the army this evening.

The letter of the Lord Treasurer, of the 2nd of this month, has given me so much uneasiness, that

I wish extremely to be out of all business ; but the more I think of it, the more uneasy I am in mind ; for I see no possibility of my retiring till this campaign is ended. What is doing in England makes so much noise on this side of the water, that it will hearten the French for the continuing of the war.

I am taking my measures in meddling as little as is possible, so that when the time of my retiring comes, it may be the easier. When you go to Blenheim, give all the encouragement you can, that the great court which brings you to the offices, and the north side of the house, may be this summer finished, that we may have that side of the house quiet, for, one way or other, I hope to be there next summer.

The enclosed I received yesterday I have sent to the Lord Treasurer, so that I may know what answer I can make. I shall take care to make your compliments in my letter, so that you may save yourself the trouble of giving any answer.

THE DUKE OF MARLBOROUGH TO THE DUCHESS OF
MARLBOROUGH.

June, 1710.

By yours of the 6th, which I received yesterday, I see you have been prevailed upon to come to London. I wish it may do good ; but I am very sure

it must be very uneasy to you, for as everything now is, I do not see how you can well go to the Queen ; and your coming to town in this hurly burly, and not waiting upon her Majesty, may have a malicious turn. For my own part, I am only thinking how I may soonest get out of all business. All my friends write to me that I must not retire ; and I myself think it would do great mischief, if I should quit before the end of this campaign. But after the contemptible usage I meet with, how is it possible to act as I ought to do ? As to the letters you have sent me, I have obeyed your commands, being by a fire when I received them (for we have the weather as cold as if we were in the month of March). The letter you wrote for the use of 39, by mistake, was burnt with the rest, so that I can't send it back as you desired. Would not you sometime ago have thought anybody mad, that should have believed it would ever have been in the power of Mr. Harley and Mrs. Masham to make the Whigs to remain tamely quiet. They are mistaken if they think this is to go no further than the mortifying of you and me, for the ruin of the Whigs and a new 88 (Parliament) is most certainly the scheme. For my own part, I have nothing to advise ; for if the Whigs suffer Lord Sunderland to be removed, I think, in a very short time, everything will be in confusion. .

Having wrote thus far, I received yours of the 9th

Your letter to the Queen is very reasonable, and a good letter upon all accounts, and I think you have done very right in sending 13's letter. But as you have thousands of kind letters from the Queen, I can't see the reason why you have at this time sent her a copy of her own letters, but I suppose you must think it of use, or you had not done it. If the Duke of Shrewsbury, on this occasion of your letter to the Queen, can do no good, I think it not much matter whether it proceeds from inclination. I do hope, before this, the Lord Treasurer may have shewn you a copy of my letter to the Duke of Shrewsbury on the subject of Lord Sunderland and the parliament. You sent me two copies of this letter I send back, by which I suppose you intended

* * * * *

THE DUKE OF MARLBOROUGH TO THE DUCHESS OF
MARLBOROUGH.

June 30, 1710.

I was in such a hurry when I sent away Colonel Stanhope, that I had hardly time to write to you. I am obliged to you for the apprehensions you are in for my health. I must own to you that my apprehensions of sickness are greater than what I have for the French army. I think it is not yet got

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amongst our soldiers ; but all the churches and villages are full of the poor country people, the greatest part of them being sick, and most of the towns being infected with a spotted fever. Whilst we are repairing the breaches of the town, and getting all sorts of provision to it, I shall have some ease and quiet for seven days, which time I intend to employ in drinking the spa waters, in order to cool my blood ; for I would willingly get over all difficulties, so as to have the happiness of living some years with you.

I am told these new ministers are very desirous of a peace ; but the violences with which they threaten us will produce the contrary ; for the French will be heartened by it ; and, indeed, our friends are apprehensive of what may happen.

Having written thus far, I have this minute received yours of the 13th. Upon the whole, the behaviour of the Queen is such, that 39 (Marlborough) begs of 240 (the Duchess) that she will not, on any account, be prevailed upon to write any more to the Queen ; and I should think the prudent behaviour for 240 should be, not to be in the way of being solicited. Whatever happens, 39 must be uneasy, since all his friends agree that he must continue in a post in which it must be impossible for him to succeed as he formerly has done.

God bless and preserve you, and give us quietness.

LORD GODOLPHIN TO THE DUCHESS OF
MARLBOROUGH.

Tuesday Night, at Eleyen, July 24, 1710.

I have the favour of your letter by Sam, and find by this letter, as well as my own, that you won't let us come so much as to dine with you. I am apt to think you may have some reasons for it which I don't know, and therefore I have nothing to do but to submit. I had the same thoughts with you about Lord Dorchester, and therefore took the occasion of Bug to talk of it to 42 (the Queen), believing besides that it would be agreeable to you; but she would not hear of it, and I am therefore doing what I can to hinder anything else of that nature, or otherwise one must be forced to tell him one has been refused. The old Vice has been intriguing about his brother, upon the same occasion, and for 222. I find, notwithstanding all that has passed, that 39 takes his part, and would be glad he were pleased in this thing; but I don't yet see any disposition in Mrs. Morley towards it. I have taken care to send both your letters to Lord Marlborough to-night, and I have also sent him one from 28 (the Duke of Shrewsbury), which I suppose is to repeat the same compliment he made to me. Poor little

A A 2

Lumley* is dead of the small pox, as well as Mr. Thynne. I believe Lady Scarborough is very much troubled. Since you won't let anybody come to you, why might not you come to town with Lady Harriet, though it were but for a day or two.

DR. HARE TO THE DUCHESS OF MARLBOROUGH.

Viler Brulin, July 13-24, 1710.

Madam,

I have the honour of your Grace's letter of the 30th by post, for which I beg leave to return my most humble thanks, and to assure your Grace you could express your sentiments upon the present schemes to no one who has a truer concern for the interest and honour of your Grace, or is more sensible of the fatal influence they may have upon the public. One would think it impossible for people to be so mad, to run into such violent measures at so critical a juncture; or that men should be so impatient for a change, when 'tis so plain that, were it now to take place, it could never be able to support itself under the disadvantages that would unavoidably lie in the way of a new ministry. But 'tis grown so common for men to sacrifice the public to

* Lord Lumley, son of Richard, first Earl of Scarborough, died of the small pox, July 24th, 1710.

their private interest, and to gratify their ambition at any rate, that I don't wonder so much at Mr. Harley's part as I do at the encouragement he meets with.

He is but playing the same game he was two years ago, and which he has all along been carrying on underhand. If the ministry won't come into his measures, and act with him, he is resolved to try his strength against them; and the present ferment the nation is in seems so favourable a juncture for him, that he does not know how to let it slip without making his advantage of it; though nothing be a surer sign of a bad course, than that he dare not stay a little, till the people have recovered themselves, and trust the merits of it with them when they are in their wits, which perhaps he may find they are sooner than he thinks for.

But that which affects me in this matter with equal wonder and concern, is the encouragement he meets with, in opposition to persons of the most tried abilities, and of the most affectionate fidelity, who, by their unparalleled services, have shewn how well they have deserved the confidence that has for so many years been so happily reposed in them. This change of affection where one would so little have expected it, is the foundation of all our misfortunes, and may be attended with so many ill consequences,

that, were a reconciliation there possible, I can't help sometimes thinking that the justest resentments should give way to it; though at other times, I confess, in spite of all one's wishes, it seems to be attended with insuperable difficulties. But not to enter further into a subject which 'tis great presumption for me to meddle with, 'tis some comfort, under the most unpromising appearances, to think that God can bring good out of evil, and that the designs of crafty men, through the most unexpected disappointments, often end in the ruin of themselves.

I trust, Madam, that the same good Providence that has hitherto so signally appeared in favour of those he has made the instruments of good to us, will still continue with them, and that the successes of our arms, under the conduct of your other self, will be able to prevent, or break, or keep off the storm, till he has finished the great work he is engaged in, and concluded the war with such a peace as may leave people to play the fool with less danger, while it sets him and his friends out of the reach of malice and envy to do them any harm. And then all the efforts of the faction will only serve to render the administration they oppose more glorious, which will then be valued as it ought to be, when the public safety will permit the authors of it to

withdraw ; a time which I can easily believe your Grace does not a little long for ; for retirement can but be agreeable to those who have no hopes or fears to keep them from feeling themselves tired, after having been for so many years, and with so much success, the principal actors on the great theatre of public business.

The kindness your Grace is pleased to express for me on that occasion, in allowing me access where business be left out, makes me look back with fresh regret on the prospect I once had of being in the neighbourhood of Blenheim, which would have given me more frequent opportunities of shewing my duty and affection than I can ever again hope for. But wherever I am, I beg leave to assure your Grace, you will ever find me without reserve, with the utmost gratitude, and the most perfect esteem,

Madam,

Your Grace's most humble,

And most obedient Servant,

FR. HARE.

Mr. Cardonell gives his duty to your Grace, and is most entirely your Grace's most humble servant.

MR. MAYNWARING TO THE DUCHESS OF
MARLBOROUGH.

Thursday, near Twelve, August, 1710.

I had read your Grace's letter * *
* tho' I am very sorry to part with it; and if I had time, I would copy it; but I am afraid you will want it to send to Lord Treasurer to-night, and you will observe that you must alter a word or two towards the end, where you speak of him, and call him Lord Treasurer; which I mention lest you should make it up without reading it.

Then you say, you could have told me the story better than you have written it; I really think that had been impossible, for I see you and her Grace in the whole relation as plainly as if I had been with you; and I laughed heartily at her *hating to have any one send to speak with her*, as her trying to get out what was meant *by the word thing*, etc., and at the great man's endeavouring to frighten her *with a set of men's asking for the regiment*, and her great care not to tell her lord, for *fear of bloodshed*; her asking his Grace if he thought it a trouble to *attend the Queen*, and at his distinction upon that, and the great airs he gave himself of his mighty interest. Though I am a great author, as you say, I never said a story so well and naturally told, and it grieves me to send it away; but since it will save you the trouble of writing so much, I must be contented.

THE DUKE OF MARLBOROUGH TO THE DUCHESS OF
MARLBOROUGH.

August, 1710.

I know not by what accident yours of the 14th, by Ostend, came to me two days later than that of the 17th. I do not as yet hear that Mr. Craggs is gone from Ostend. However, as the winds have been, he should be with you before this. My letters from Holland say that the merchants of London assure those of Amsterdam that there will be a new parliament, which puts them under great apprehensions.

I have spoken my mind so freely to 185 (Mr. Craggs), that I did not trouble you with my thoughts as to the politics.

The French work hard at their intrenchments, and we go on with the siege of Bethune. They say the Marshall de Villars expects more troops from Germany ; that he intends to hinder us from making more sieges.

MR. MAYNWARING TO THE DUCHESS OF
MARLBOROUGH.

Monday Morning, Eight o'clock, August, 1710.

Some of the old philosophers, etc.

I am now come from their contemplation (viz., of a fine morning) to the chief duty that I shall think

myself bound to perform whilst I live ; I mean that which I am under to you as your secretary.

I had no news yesterday of any kind, but what I suppose is not so to you by this time, that Sir Wm. Godolphin was dying, which will happen very seasonably for a family that is far from being rich. Lord Dursley* dined at your lover's,† who I find is enraged at Lord Peterborough's being to preside in the Admiralty.‡ But he says he is not to go to sea, but to be first Lord Commissioner and General of the marines, as the Prince you know was ; and the latter part is likely, because it will be a blessing to 39 (the Duke of Marlborough). The same lord said he had not seen 13 (the Duke of Somerset) lately, but would this morning, so that we may know anon some considerable news of the state ; for Lord Dursley said he would come afterwards to Putney, whither I am going with 11 (Duke of Devon), to meet the Duke of Bedford.

* * * * *

I will tell your Grace all your intrigues, and what this letter which I had this moment from your lover may produce, I know not, but you shall hear of it

* James, eldest son of Charles, second Earl of Berkeley, whom he succeeded as third Earl of Berkeley, on his death, in the September of the present year : he was a distinguished naval officer.

† Lord Lindesey.

‡ There was spread abroad at this time a rumour that the Earl of Peterborough would be placed at the head of the Admiralty.

all. I send you the Print, which is the only Tory paper, for the nonsense of the first remarks and the compliments upon 28 (Duke of Shrewsbury), in an address which is quite new ; but for all that he is almost mad. * * *

THE DUKE OF MARLBOROUGH TO THE DUCHESS OF MARLBOROUGH.

August 16, 1710.

I had the pleasure, etc. * * *

I beg there may be no alteration made at the election of Woodstock ; * for I intend Cadogan shall come to England with me. 39 (Marlborough) shall expect more assistance in 87 (Parliament) from 197 (Cadogan) and 202 than any other numbers, for they have both honesty and courage to speak the truth ; so that I do earnestly desire that these two men may be chose preferable to all others with which I desire you will lose no time in acquainting 38 (Godolphin), and that I beg it of him as a particular favour, that he would take care of securing an election for 202, for 39 does think it absolutely necessary to have him early in 108 (England) this winter, of which he will take care * * *

* After the dissolution of the parliament in 1710, the old members for Woodstock were re-elected. They were William Cadogan, Esq. and Sir Thomas Wheate, Baronet, who must be meant by the cipher 202.

I desire the inclosed, for Mr. Travers, might be delivered as soon as possible, as it concerns Mr. Cadogan's election.

THE DUKE OF MARLBOROUGH TO THE DUCHESS OF
MARLBOROUGH.

August 21, 1710.

Since my last, I have recived your two letters by Ostend, and that of the 4th by the way of Holland. I am very glad Lady Sunderland is safely delivered. If you are still in London make my compliments to her.

You mention again in yours the great desire Lord Sunderland has of having me well with the Elector. You may assure him that I have more real power with his Highness than any man in England ; and I have been assured that I may depend on his not accepting any thing that maybe uneasy to me. But this should not be spoken of, for the very foundation of Mr. Harley's scheme depends very much on this. At the same time I am afraid that the resolution is taken for removing you, by which steps they reckon upon being rid of the Lord Treasurer and me also ; after which they think they may safely join with as many of the parliament as will come into them, since they are sure of having the entire favour of the

Queen. If any thing can give safety, I shall not be uneasy at any scheme that shall be taken, being ambitious of nothing so much as your love and quietness.

THE DUKE OF MARLBOROUGH TO THE DUCHESS OF
MARLBOROUGH.

August 28th, 1710.

By your last letters, I believe this will find you at Lady Bridgewater's, to her and her Lord I desire you will make my compliments: what you write in one of your letters of assisting Mr. Lomax at St. Albans, as things are now, I believe there will be no real opposition to the same members who served them in the last parliament: and really as violences run, I would beg of you not to be at St. Albans, neither before nor at the election, fearing you might meet with some insult, which would be a mortification to me. What 210 hears from 108 (England) gives him infinite trouble, there being no mischief but what may be expected. I have given your letter to Lieut. General Withers, and by the commission he tells me you have charged him with, I should think you do not think things in so bad a condition as I do. I fear you are amused and not told the truth, for believe it 239 (the Queen) will risk 108 (England) rather than not vex 240 (the

Duchess). They have at this time no resentment but to 240, 39 (Marlborough), 38 (Godolphin), and their children. God knows how little I have deserved this ! may He give me patience, and his will be done. You shall ever find me with much tenderness, yours.

THE DUKE OF MARLBOROUGH TO THE DUCHESS OF
MARLBOROUGH.

August 28, 1710.

I have received yours of the 8th by Holland. That, as well as the rest of my letters, acquaints me with the surprising news of Lord Treasurer's being out.* I must confess it was what I did not expect, but by my former letters you might see that I was sufficiently prepared for mortifications. I send my answer to Lord Somers's letter open, that you may see what answer I make. From hence forward I would beg of you not to write any thing but what you would not care if it were seen, unless you should have a safe hand of writing.

I intend to send Collins with the news of Bethune,† and will order him not to return till he has a letter from you. I shall write by him so that you will know when he is at London, for I believe you

* Godolphin was dismissed on the 8th of August, 1710.

† Bethune was invested on the 15th of July, and surrendered on the 29th August.

will now desire, till my return, to be at Woodstock, or with your children. We have yet two months before this campaign can be ended; after which I shall lose no time in coming to you, for I will not stay but very few days at the Hague. Our sickness continues, but I thank God I have my health, and will take the best care I can to keep it. My poor coachman that has lived so long with me, died of this fever yesterday, and poor Daniel, my favourite cook, is not yet recovered, but they hope he will. I am tenderly yours.

THE DUKE OF MARLBOROUGH TO THE DUCHESS OF
MARLBOROUGH.

August 30th, 1710.

I have directed this bearer, Collins, not to return till he has a letter from you, for I believe this will be the only safe opportunity you will have till my return; as I acquainted you in some of my former letters, that the project most likely to be agreed was, that 38 (Godolphin), 240 (the Duchess), and 39 (Marlborough) were to be dropped, is pretty plain now, by the discarding of 38, and that the whole will be put in execution as soon as the conjuncture can allow of it. 210 (Marlborough) joins with me to beg of you to keep out of the way, for nothing would please them more that wish us ill, than to have a pretext for removing of you, which to me would be a much greater

mortification than any other personal thing to myself. As I receive mortifications and a harsh return from my own country, if I were capable of receiving pleasure, it would be to see the kind concern all the foreigners shew me on this occasion, but my apprehensions are, that the heats of faction are grown so very great, that we can't avoid sooner or later fatal disturbances in England, by which the nation may be ruined, and France reap the advantage. I have this day received fresh assurances from 50 (the Elector), and to-morrow I shall write to him in such a manner as he may be assured of my being very sensible of his kindness expressed at this time. Pray take the best measures you can with Mr. Travers and Mr. Vanburgh, that all the work possible may be done this summer at Blenheim. The garrison of Bethune is to march out to-morrow; and, notwithstanding the sickness of the army, the Prince of Savoy and myself have a mind to attempt taking of St. Venant and Aire.* We have yet nearly two months before the end of the campaign, which is a sufficient time for the taking of them, so that our only fears are that the sickness should increase, which God forbid. Pray let me know how you intend to pass your time till November. I am, with all my heart and soul, yours.

* These places were both invested on the 6th of September. St. Venant surrendered on the 30th of the same month, but Aire, which was much stronger, held out till November 9.

This being the only safe opportunity I am like to have for some time, I earnestly desire you will persuade 240 (yourself) not to be amused, but to be thoroughly convinced, that a steady resolution is taken to do all the mischief possible to you and to me and all that belong to us.

I have opened my letter to thank you for yours of the 7th and 11th, by Ostend, and by them see they are endeavouring to put in practice what I was informed concerning us. I have followed my friends' advice, by writing this afternoon a letter to 50 (the Elector of Hanover). I am vexed, but be assured I shall not do my health any prejudice, for whilst you are kind and some friends just, I shall condemn the barbarous usage I meet with.

MR. MAYNWARING TO THE DUCHESS OF
MARLBOROUGH.

August, 1710.

* especially Harley and St. John will not invent and report. It is a noble ministry that is to be founded upon lies, treachery, and ingratitude, and all the dark and crooked vices of mankind. If the old philosopher, Heraclitus, who always wept when he saw an ill man, had lived to meet this new junc-tillo, it would certainly have broke his heart.

Lord Halifax dined yesterday at Mr. Walpole's, where I was : he is mightily for running down the sovereign,* and would undertake to do it effectually, if Lord Godolphin would give him up, as he called it. But he privately informed Mr. Walpole, that he believes that they are much likelier to be made friends again. I believe nothing of that, and will advise his lordship, when I see him next, to begin his attack as soon as he pleases. He had a good conceit at dinner of making a ballad upon him, like the verses in Cowley, which begin thus, *Margaretta first possest*, and so name all his governors, as Cowley does his mistresses, from Lord Rochester to Lord Rivers. It would be a good ridicule enough. I am to dine to-day at the Bisleys, and will write any news that I hear there at night. I hope your Grace's cold is quite well, and wish it were possible for you to conceive how faithfully I am your humble servant.

MR. MAYNWARING TO THE DUCHESS OF
MARLBOROUGH.

1710.†

10 (Lord Rivers) can be of no use, and will therefore decline it, unless he finds me out against

* The Duke of Somerset.

† The date of this imperfect letter is rather uncertain, but it seems to have been written shortly before the Duchess was persuaded to come to town.

my will, as he did when he spoke last ; and I am sure the conversation on my side will end as 42's (the Queen) with 78 (me) dryly. But I must needs tell you 5 (Somers) goes to-day to 13 (Duke of Somerset) at 13's desire. What they mean by it they only can explain ; though it is more likely that 13 has no meaning, at least none of his own. What you say of it being better to go out of the world, when 'tis impossible to live in it without managing such creatures, expresses the true meaning of Socrates

* * * *

I am very sorry you gave no answer to the request that everybody makes, that you would please to come to town ; but if you are more happy in the country, be so just to me as to believe that I shall always be for whatever may contribute to make you easy.

THE DUKE OF MARLBOROUGH TO THE DUCHESS OF
MARLBOROUGH.

Sept. 1, 1710.

Since mine by Collins, I have received yours of the 14th and 15th, every thing is so dismal in England, that I think one must do as Teague did, think that the worst must happen, and then one shall meet with no disagreeable disappointments. We have

B B 2

the confirmation this morning from the French army, by one of my trumpets, that we have obtained a second victory in Spain,* and that the Duke of Anjou is returned to Madrid. This news is so good, that I again begin to think we shall have a good peace.

THE DUKE OF MARLBOROUGH TO THE DUCHESS OF
MARLBOROUGH.

Sept. 4, 1710.

Since my last I have not received any from you, nor have we received any particulars of the late action in Spain, more than in my last, nor can we well expect to hear from King Charles till about the middle of this month. We are this day come before Aire, and shall to-morrow send some troops to St. Venant. My last letters from the Hague say, that Lord Rivers was expected everyday;† the Amsterdam Gazette says, he is to offer the Elector of Hanover the command of this army. I wish so well to my country, and have so great a respect for the Elector, that if I could any ways contribute to the making him successful, I should cheerfully do all in my power, without any thought of reward, but

* The battle of Saragosa, on the 19th of August.

† Lord Rivers was sent by the new ministry envoy extraordinary to Hanover.

the gaining his esteem, enjoying quiet afterwards, and contemning the ungrateful malice of my enemies. I fear these two sieges will occasion our continuing a long time in this camp. I am lodged in a very clean abbey, but it is so near the town, that I fear when the attack shall begin the noise will disturb me. I am ever yours.

MR. MAYNWARING TO THE DUCHESS OF
MARLBOROUGH.

Saturday Evening, after 7, Sept. 1710.

Does not think the new ministry will last through their difficulties—for it was impossible for Harley to prefer half the Tories that expected it, which would make some of them enemies, and if he took in any Whigs they would all be so. They have already a report that 1 is to be Chancellor, it being impossible for a man so blind as Sir S. Harcourt to do the business long: and, indeed, it is ridiculous to see him on the bench; for when he is to read any paper he is forced to read with glass in one hand, and to keep the light from his eyes with the other. He then speaks of Harley's and Harcourt's poverty—they will want money as well as titles—Harley formerly not paying the debts of his tradesmen.

THE DUKE OF MARLBOROUGH TO THE DUCHESS OF
MARLBOROUGH.

Sept. 8, 1710.

I have received your letters of the 18th, both by Ostend and Holland, on the same day, and am very much concerned at your not being well. I do with all my heart wish the change of air may do you good. Everybody is writing, there will most certainly be a new parliament, and a great many officers desire leave to go, so as to take care of their interest. I have as yet refused none. All our letters from the Hague continue to confirm the second victory from Spain, by which it is visible the care God has of us. If this success had happened last year, it would have given a peace in less than two months, but the enemies are now so heartened by our divisions in England, that God only knows what resolution they may take. But I hope yet it may end in that of peace, which is earnestly desired upon many accounts by your humble servant.

THE DUKE OF MARLBOROUGH TO THE DUCHESS OF
MARLBOROUGH.

Sept. 11, 1710.

I have received yours of the 22d and 25th since my last. You need make no excuse for your being

at London, for it is enough that you think it right, for I confess I look upon it as a place inhabited by wolves ; for I think there never was such monstrous proceedings encouraged as has been there of late. The French are taking their measures for the supporting of King Philip, which looks as if they would not make any overtures of peace, but expect what might happen this winter for their advantage both in England and from the King of Sweden. What you mentioned formerly of 89 (the Whigs) quitting when 88 (Parliament) should be dismissed, I have heard for some time the contrary was resolved. At this distance it is impossible to judge which is right, but I take it for granted, that they in the place should govern, and whatever they resolve to be sure they think for the best, for their whole is now at stake.

The weather is so very fine that I grieve when I think what use might have been made of it at Blenheim, if we had none of these cursed disputes.

THE DUKE OF MARLBOROUGH TO THE DUCHESS OF
MARLBOROUGH.

Sept. 13, 1710.

I shall write to you to-morrow by the post, but by this opportunity of Lord Stair's, I may write that I

must not venture by the post. I believe you judge very right, that 42 (the Queen) has deferred her resolution of putting you out, till the return of 39 (Lord Marlborough.) But if there be any pretence given, they will do it before; for they are impatient of having that blow given. 42 (the Queen) is as desirous and as eager in this remove, as 199, (Mr. Harley) and 256 (Mrs. Masham) can be. I do by no means approve of the behaviour of 28 (Duke of Shrewsbury) in this whole matter; but remember, as Lady Peterborough used to say, that I tell you that he will be as well as 13 (Duke of Somerset) duped, for nobody has real power but 256 (Mrs. Masham) and 199 (Mr. Harley). In my opinion all reasoning serves but to cheat ourselves; for no good judgment can be made when one has to do with 92, and 93, so that the only measure in which 210 (Marlborough) and 240, may be sure of not being deceived, is to know the truth, that whatever can be done to make them uneasy will be attempted. 39 (Marlborough) is of an opinion that 43 (the King of France) has taken his resolution not to think of 81 (peace) till he first sees this winter the behaviour of 108 (England). You must not flatter yourself that 50 (the Elector of Hanover) is capable of acting a vigorous part. I believe he will shew that he esteems 39, but at the same time will be desirous of meddling as

little as possible with the affairs of 108 (England); for which I cannot much blame him, for not caring to have to do with so villainous a people. I am still of opinion the only good thing you can do is to be quiet, by which you will give them no handle to use you ill before my return.

THE DUKE OF MARLBOROUGH TO THE DUCHESS OF
MARLBOROUGH.

Sept. 15, 1710.

I have received yours of the 27th, by the way of Ostend, by which I see you were at the lodge. I do with all my heart wish I were with you. We have received further accounts of the victory in Spain, by which we see that the account was much more considerable than we at first thought it, so that the King of France must send a very great number of troops, if he will re-establish their affairs in that country. I join in the wishes of Lady Bridgewater, and submit all to the powers above, who know the sincerity of my heart for the public good. But I confess I have no prospect but that of seeing a good deal of confusion, the prospect of which does very much encourage our enemies, otherwise this late success in Spain must have obliged them to have made new offers.

If 240 find themselves uneasy where they are, let

me conjure them to go to 135 (Blenheim), or any other place which may make them most easy, for there is nothing left worth the managing, in comparison with their own ease and quiet, which is dearer to me than any other consideration.

I am extremely sensible of your kind concern for my health, which, I thank God, is very good at this time.

THE DUKE OF MARLBOROUGH TO THE DUCHESS OF
MARLBOROUGH.

Sept. 18, 1710.

I have received your letter by Collins, and I find by some expressions in some of 78's (Mr. Maynwaring's) letters, that he thinks 42 (the Queen) does not dispose of 240's places upon account of his promises. I am pretty confident that that does no ways hinder it; but that they have positively resolved to do it, so that they only wait for some pretext or occasion given by you, without which they may think it barbarous to do it whilst 39 is in company with 131: but as soon as the winter comes, they will put in execution what they have so unjustly designed, and all sorts of barbarities in their power. I should not venture to write thus freely, but that this comes by Lieut. General Withers. What you wish to have 50 (the Elector of Hanover) do, is reasonable; but

his cautious nature will never allow him to take any such steps. All that can be expected is, that he will give his directions to be in a great degree directed by me.

If it were possible to be safe and quiet, the only good thing would be to be out of all.

DR. HARE TO THE DUCHESS OF MARLBOROUGH.

St. André, Sept. 18-29, 1710.

Madam,

The honour your Grace is pleased to do me in your letter of the 6th, in condescending to a correspondence with one who has nothing to recommend him but the honest plainness and sincerity he writes with, affects me too sensibly not to embrace readily the leave you are pleased to give me of paying my duty to you in this manner, tho' otherwise I could be content to be for ever silent on so disagreeable subject. What has lately happened * does so far exceed all I could expect or fear, that no words can express the surprise it at first struck me with; and from what I feel myself, who shall always retain the utmost veneration and esteem for so great a minister, I can easily imagine how such an unexpected blow must have affected your Grace, who are so intimate

* The dismissal of Godolphin, on the 8th of August.

a friend of his lordship, and so good a judge what a blessing the nation has lost in him. So bold a step, I confess, I could not believe would on one hand be attempted, or, on the other, be complied with, and is a demonstration to me how little anything in this world can be depended on. The favour of princes has indeed always been a slippery place, and like standing on a precipice, while the endeavours of envy are restless to undermine them, and princes are too much like other men, not to be imposed on by the wicked artifice of those who are always watching to do ill offices, and labouring to misrepresent the services of those ministers whose friendship they can't gain, or have deserved to lose. But as common as it has been for princes to remove their favour from those where it seemed to be most fixed, there is that in the present case as will always make it be thought very extraordinary; there has so rarely been an instance where there has been such an entire confidence and friendship between the prince and the chief ministers; and I may say never so much reason for a prince to be lastingly satisfied and pleased with them, her choice having approved itself to her people by a continued series of success with which their endeavours for her service and the public good have been crowned beyond example; of which the nation, as well as prince, have given so many and such public testimonies as no time past

can equal, no time to come can ever be able to efface.

It will always be surprising to think that the ministers who have by their wisdom, ability, and integrity supported the nation under the greatest difficulties, have not been able to support *themselves*; but that, as if merit were a crime, and the surest way to *lose favour* were to *deserve* it, they have seemed to lose ground themselves in the prince, in proportion as they have gained ground for her from her enemies, and are then disgraced, when they have perfected their work, and brought the glory of her reign to the highest pitch; for that they have done, even in the confession of their enemies, who, had they not thought the business done, and a peace sure, beyond a possibility of being spoilt, would hardly, for their own sakes, have been in so much haste with their new schemes.

I confess I have always thought the ministry in England a most intolerable slavery, thro' the infinite difficulties created on the part of the people; 'tis so hard to keep any temper between two such mighty factions, and so exceeding disagreeable, as well as inconvenient, for a wise and good man to go wholly into either of them. What I have seen of this, and the malecontent spirit that has shewn itself where one ought to have least expected it, has made me often say, I thought nothing could prevail with his

Grace and my Lord Treasurer to continue an hour longer in so ungrateful a service but their personal affection for the Queen, little thinking anything could be added to their trouble on her part, for whose glory they were willing to bear everything; or that the time would ever come that she could not be entirely easy in the known fidelity and successful conduct of such a ministry. Of this, the breach with Mr. Harley made the first unfortunate discovery. From that time, I own, I have thought the ministry in the most unhappy situation possible, since they could neither do what they thought most for the Queen's service without going against her inclinations, nor fall in with her inclinations without prejudice to her service. The apprehensions I have for these two years had what this might end in, has given me many uneasy thoughts, some of which I have been often tempted to lay before your Grace; my zeal for your service, for whom nobody can have more duty and affection, making me sometimes vain enough to think I could offer something that might perhaps be favourably received; but when it came to, I could not but think it too great a presumption for me, who knows so little of your secret springs of affairs, to meddle with so nice a subject, and to trouble with my thoughts persons who have so little time for trifles, and are so able to judge of everything themselves, from the situation they are

in, which gives them a full view of things, except where their sight is interrupted or disturbed by the flattery of those about them. Though it be to no purpose now to enter into this matter, I can't forbear telling your Grace that the result of my thoughts has always been, that nothing would keep the affections of the Queen, without losing those of the people, but preserving the moderation between the two parties, that the ministry had once declared for, as far as possible. I could not but think the unreasonableness of the Whigs, who would be content with nothing, if they could not have everything, would make it impossible for the ministry to support them ; and what I feared, and a great deal more, is now come to pass.

I doubt not, but my Lord Treasurer might have kept in himself if he would have changed sides and come into the new measures ; but he has chosen a much more honourable part, to quit his place rather than the measures which he thought it most fit for the Queen's service to go into ; and fall with those he could not support rather than to stand without them. I wish this noble example of constancy and firmness may meet with a suitable return, and that those he has adhered to may adhere as stedfastly to him ; which is a virtue one has not all the reason in the world to expect from them. But whether they have that gratitude or not it will be an eternal

honour to his lordship, that neither the favour of the Prince, nor the greatness of his post could prevail with him to come into new schemes that seem to strike at the Revolution, and to depart from those principles of liberty and public good on which the present Constitution is established. A rare example of heroick virtue this, when the minister and patriot are united in one and the same person ; and I doubt not but the nation will in time do justice to so much merit, perhaps in a new Parliament, but at this distance it is impossible, for me at least, to make any tolerable judgement what complexion 't will be of, and I am apt to think, the event will confirm your Grace's judgement of it : but I shall think the new ministry have good luck, if they get more than one to their minds. In the mean time it is well for them, and the nation too, that we are so happily surprised with such wonderful successes in Spain, which will lessen the odium these violent measures would unavoidably have exposed them to, and I hope are some pledge that God will bless us still with a safe and honourable peace.

Upon the whole, madam, when good princes are induced by the artifice and insinuation of cunning men to part with able and faithful ministers, the princes, I think, are more to be pitied than those that are forced from them ; and if your Grace considers the present case in this view, I hope you will

see reason to distinguish between the Queen and the persons who make use of the power they have with her, and while you shew a generous contempt of these, you will preserve all due respect to her. Your Grace knows the sincerity of her intentions for the good of her people better than anybody else, and will think, besides the weight that ought to have with you, that a great deal is due to the long and intimate friendship you have had the honour to have with her, and more still to that share of royal favour that has been shewn to you and your's in so distinguishing a manner. Nothing, madam, can make you appear greater in yourself than a respectful behaviour, where 'tis on so many accounts so justly due ; nor can anything more effectually defeat the malice of your enemies, who, when they can reproach your Grace with nothing else, have shewn how gladly they would fix on you the odious character of ingratitude, a fault, which, as your Grace would not be really guilty of, so all appearances deserve, with some care, to be avoided. I mention this the rather because the sincerity and openness of your Grace's temper makes you not easily suspect others, and by that means, I fear the freedom of conversation your Grace has used with some persons, has been often betrayed to your great prejudice, and a very ill use has been made, by help of a little misrepresentation, of that where no ill at all was meant.

Your Grace's goodness will forgive the liberty I take in saying this, since it proceeds from nothing but the duty and inviolable affection with which I shall always be ready to serve your Grace.

I have seen in the Answer to the Queen's, that Blenheim House is made one of my Lord Treasurer's crimes, and the party, I doubt not, would readily enough come into the cry, but that I believe they are willing to keep some measures with my Lord Duke, and for that reason will do nothing that is personal and strikes directly at him; his services are too necessary to be wanted, and they have, I think, done him the compliment to shew they can't be without him if they would, and from thence I hope to see that noble monument of English gratitude gloriously finished, to perpetuate the memory of an action which, in English history, has no parallel, and which succeeding generations will wonder at and be the better for. I hope a little time will put a finishing hand to that house, and do justice to your Grace and your friends; that after a short eclipse you will shine out with a new lustre, and that people will crowd with joy to give you expressions of their gratitude, and bless the name to which they owe so much. In the mean time, whatever your enemies may do or endeavour, the consciousness of your own integrity, clean hands, and a pure heart, and a good-natured use of interest and power with

respect both to the public and an infinite number of private persons whom you have bestowed favours on, in so disinterested and generous a manner, these are satisfactions 'tis out of the power of envy to take from you. These will give delight and pleasure to the mind in retirement and solitude; and where these are, nothing that is very uneasy or disagreeable can enter, or continue long, so that, however the public, or those who have the honour to depend on you may suffer by the change, your Grace is sure to lose no real advantage or satisfaction by it, except that one pleasure of continuing to do good equal to your wishes, equal to what you have been used to do for so many years; but that affects others more than yourself, who will find out, I doubt not, new ways of making all within your reach the better for you, and the same inclinations may again have the same power. But whether they have or have not, I hope your Grace will find those who have professed themselves your servants, to be so still, among whom I beg leave to put myself; and to assure your Grace I shall always be with all possible duty and affection,

Madam,

Your Grace's most humble,
and most obedient Servant.

I beg a thousand pardons for being so much longer than I intended when I set pen to paper;

c c 2

'tis out of the abundance of my heart, which makes me hope 'twill more easily be forgiven.

Endorsed by the Duchess.—From Dr. Hare, when the Tories were doing all that they could to help France, to get into power and place themselves.

MR. MAYNWARING TO THE DUCHESS OF
MARLBOROUGH.

Monday Evening, 1710.*

I have the honour of two letters from your Grace, for which I am very thankful. One from Woodstock, the other from Windsor. I am very sorry you think the House will not be finished in your time ; but you were certainly in the right to put a stop to what you did not like : and if the Government stands, such a monument of our triumph will be perfected, and I hope you will see many happy days in it. I do not consider Sir R. Dashwood is converted, especially since he has so good an estate ; and the pretence of saving the Church with such ministers as are now used, will grow so great a farce, that it must turn such men as can think at all. The only popular clamours they had to make will be at an end by the

* It is very difficult to ascertain the exact date of this letter, which seems to be made up of two parts written at different times. It appears to have been written at the end of September.

conquest of Spain.* For though it is certain the war was carried on in the best manner it could be, yet Spain being the thing we fight for, it was easy to persuade the vulgar that the most necessary part of the service was too much neglected, though these ill men that made the complaint, knew in their hearts, that all was done that could be ; and I remember I asked Mr. Stanhope myself, if he had all the troops he desired, and he said yes ; and gave me reason to hope that good use would be made of them this year. And that being now made good, I really do not know that the most ignorant have anything left to complain of ; for since all their discourses and pamphlets laid the great stress upon our getting that kingdom, in which they hoped we should have failed, I do not see what else they can find to be angry at, since that is done, as I hope it is by this time. And though, at first view, this success there might have appeared favourable to the new ministry, and likely to fix them better ; if one considers it fully, it is more probable they will be weakened by it, by losing the best handle they had for clamour. For if they can shew no faults in those that went before them, who can bear their seizing the Government without any pretence of merit, and dispossessing all those that have deserved so well? There is a report to-day

* Alluding to Stanhope's victories at Almenara in Catalonia and near Saragosa, on the 27th of July and the 19th of August, 1710.

that 5 (Somers) had a message from the Queen. I hear Lord Peterborough talks more doubtfully of coming into the Admiralty, and pretends not to care for that, but only to go to sea. If that be so, he finds some difficulties, as it was generally thought he would do; but Mr. Methuen persists in it, that he may have it if he will. I have sealed Mr. Vanburgh's letter, and will carry it to him. I have always thought the same of 200 (Mr. Boyle) since I knew him, as you may very well remember when the dispute was about the person he recommended to the Treasurer of the Navy, and what I said to Lord Marlborough at that time: so that he has not changed his opinion of him twice in a week. It is reported to-day that Lord Dorset is to be out, and Lord Derby, so that your Grace guessed right that it would not be in his power to choose.

The successors intended to be given by a stinking ugly chambermaid, that has betrayed her only friend to a * papist in masquerade, that went to Italy to marry a common strumpet, and to the most terrant tricky knave in all Britain, that no man alive believes any more than an Oates or a Fuller; to have all this plainly designed and actually transacting, is what I will defy the Bishop of Salisbury, or whoever is best read in history, to shew any parallel for.

* Duke of Shrewsbury.

† Harley.

And I do really believe this appears to me in a more ghastly horrid figure than it does even to you ; all the difference is, I would do anything to stop it as I would hinder the plague, and you run away from it ; which I own is a more natural motion of the mind, and what everybody would feel upon the first thoughts ; but it cannot be right upon reflection, in such a terrible national calamity.

Though this nation is less bloody that way than some others, yet I almost think if these three things were set up, and declared to govern all, they would be murdered. There are some indignities which human nature cannot bear. And if what Cicero observes be true, that the condition of those that are under, is better or worse according to the dignity or infamy of those that are above them, the people of Great Britain under such a ministry must be the lowest.

MR. MAYNWARING TO THE DUCHESS OF
MARLBOROUGH.

Thursday, near Two, 1710.*

Nothing can be truer than what your Grace says of the Tories, that if ever they did a good thing, it was because they were forced to it, or for some ill

* This letter seems to have been written about the end of September.

end; and that they had no better meaning in disbanding the army than the invaders had; and the same thing may be made appear in all their other great acts of which they boast, by examining the times and circumstances of them, without which it is impossible to make a right judgement of anything. But your Grace observes very right, that it is too late for these elections to write anything upon this subject; and I believe nothing that they can publish will do much harm. If it be true that Mr. Harley has retained Dr. Atterbury to write a justification of his actions, 'tis likely that hard task may give occasions for more scribbling, and I have thought sometimes to give a new turn to the old thing about the champions, and in a second part to bring in Harlequin and Abigail taking care of the church after the champions were beaten off the field.

* * *

Mr. Tonson* sent me another answer to the first paper just now, in which I think it is said that the author ought to be put in the pillory; so that I think it is well that nobody but your Grace knows about it.

I hope your Grace's apprehension of an ill state of affairs abroad proceeds only from the great concern you have there; but what you are pleased to say people tell you, that it will be always in the

* The celebrated bookseller.

Queen's power to ruin herself and the nation, is certainly true ; and I know no other reason why any one should persuade your Grace to trouble yourself any more about her, but because nobody else is likely to do any good ; and I cannot but think you may, and therefore I have been reflecting upon what you did me the honour to read out of the Duke's letter, in which he seems to wish you would not trouble yourself too much about that matter. The expression indeed is full of love and tenderness, which I believe it is very natural to have for your Grace. But I should rather have expected that his opinion would have been governed by some high point of wisdom than by such softnesses ; and I confess I can see none in discouraging your endeavours, which I think can only do service.

THE DUKE OF MARLBOROUGH TO THE DUCHESS OF
MARLBOROUGH.

Sept. 22, 1710.

Till within these three days, during this nine years' war, I have never had occasion of sending away ill news. Our powder and other stores for the campaign, left Gand last Thursday, under the convoy of 1200 foot and 450 horse ; they were attacked by the enemy and beaten, so that they

blew up the powder, and sunk the other store boats. I have sent to other neighbouring towns to see if they can help us with stores sufficient for the carrying on of this siege, for we hope we have already enough for the taking of St. Venant. Prince Eugene and myself are resolved not to raise this siege as long as we have any hope of getting ammunition.

I am heart and soul yours.

LADY COWPER TO THE DUCHESS OF MARLBOROUGH.

Oct. 2, 1710.

You pleased me mightily in giving me hopes of seeing you here ; and I wish I could pass so much of my time with you as to convince your Grace I can't be weary of you. I am so much Whig that I can't for my heart help preferring so much merit as yours to power or any other consideration ; and you and your family have served the Queen and nation so faithfully, that I never can, nor ever will endeavour to forget it. After this I hope you will let me have as much of your company as you can afford me.

* * *

(After desiring Lord Cowper's particular regards to her Grace and Lord Godolphin.)—

I don't at all wonder the new ministry are weary of the Duke of Shrewsbury.

MR. MAYNWARING TO THE DUCHESS OF
MARLBOROUGH.

Sept. or Oct., 1710.*

As for your Scots, it is impossible for you to think worse of them than I do, or to apprehend more mischief from them; and I think *your being against the Union* should always be remembered to your everlasting honour; for, without that, it had been impossible for these people† to support themselves a month. I should think, as 240 (the Duchess) does, that these people would never employ 1, tho' most believe they are willing to employ 200 (Mr. Boyle); and if 1 is ever to come in again, there is nothing half so good as his old place; and as one that loves money as he does, nothing can be so good as that which is most profitable.

I can easily believe your Grace has a sad story to tell upon the subject of 38 (Lord Godolphin),‡ who will not be able to keep his family, unless 39 (Marlborough) assists him, which I really think he should do.

* This letter was probably written very shortly after the dismissal of Godolphin.

† Harley's ministry.

‡ It will ever be remembered to the honour of Lord Godolphin, that after having been Lord Treasurer so many years, he quitted his office a poor man, and, to the discredit of the Queen and her new ministers, that she never paid him the pension which she had promised him. Had it not been for the death of his elder brother, by which event some property fell to him, he would have been obliged to depend upon the Duke for the support of his family.

MR. MAYNWARING TO THE DUCHESS OF
MARLBOROUGH.

1710.

I saw the old Vice this morning, who had been at court lately, and I could find by him that 28 (Duke of Shrewsbury) is in a good deal of apprehension about raising the money. The Vice himself sputters, and swears 'tis impossible. He says 28's lady certainly gains favour, and has a most ridiculous way of pleasing. When she came in to 42 (the Queen), and found her rather dull, she cried out, "My Queen, you must not think always of the poor Prince;" which most absurd flattery pleases extremely. And, as all people love to have their defects covered, so, if any time we have not shewn the concern we ought to do, one is glad, however, to have it thought so, and the less true affection one felt the rather one likes to hear it spoken of. There is a report that Mr. ——— is to be cofferer. He has the true cast for a court, and is made to shine extremely at a basset or an ombre table, and to look gently and talk insipidly, which is all that seems to be required in this life.

LADY COWPER TO THE DUCHESS OF MARLBOROUGH.

Oct. 23, 1710.

Your Grace's letter

* * *

I am very glad my spouse's advice has been of any service to you. I am sure he is never better pleased than when he can be useful to your Grace or any of your family, and receives the honour of your confidence as he ought to do. He bid me tell you, that as to your fears of Lord Marlborough's yielding to the temptations laid before him, he hopes there is no reason to apprehend it: my Lord M. having some time since acquainted him with all the particulars of the proceeding to that time, and withall expressing his detestation of quitting the interests of his country upon this bottom, or any other temptation whatsoever. He could not but mean at that time what he said, because he came hither in a manner on purpose to tell my Lord so: and if my Lord Marlborough has not been since that time so rough as quite to discourage their trying him farther, my Lord thinks it is excusable upon particular reasons relating to my Lord's circumstances too long to be repeated. But, in the mean time, he is firmly persuaded my Lord Marlborough will be very firm and constant. I beg your Grace will not mention this.

Your description of the Duchess of Shrewsbury is very good. I have heard much such an account of her, only with this addition. My Lord Duke looking a little grave, she chucked him several times under the chin, bidding him look up amongst all the company. She is a great honour to a court.

I grow out of all patience with the elections ; yet, I can't but hope that God will deliver us from the danger that threatens us by some means we don't foresee, we have been so often relieved by the most unexpected ways from the very brink of destruction, and we have reason to hope for everything from his goodness to us.

The Duke of Somerset, I am told, will have the mortification to have his son thrown out in Northumberland, by a man who is not worth 200*l.* or 300*l.* a year, which surely must be a great humiliation to their high blood, when they see neither their birth nor their money can prevent it. But one can't be sorry for any that has given up their honour and interest of their country upon a pique, tho' they had repented, much less when they are such hypocrites. If we are but safe, I must own I shall be pleased to see them fall out among themselves, which I think plainly appears will be their end ; for there are not places enough to satisfy all that want places in the party, not even tho' they divided

every place into five, as they did the Treasury. My spouse begs leave to present his duty to your Grace and his good wishes for the Duke of Marlborough's safe return * * *

DR. HARE TO THE DUCHESS OF MARLBOROUGH.

St. Andre, Oct. 30, 1710.

Madam,

I return your Grace my most humble thanks for the honour of your letter of the 3rd, which is the fullest proof your Grace could give me of kind acceptance of the duty and affection with which my last was written; and the confidence with which your Grace is pleased to speak to me your thoughts, is so generous, that I hope I shall never be capable of doing the least thing to forfeit it. By what one yet sees here of the elections, I fear your Grace judges but too truly of them, and those that make the computations you mention, are too sanguine, for there are not only many changes, but some where one least expected it, so that there seems little room to hope the Tories should not be the majority. I must own I thought it would be so from the first; for it has always seemed to me very plain that the spirit of the gentry of the nation is Toryism, and that nothing but the influence of the Court has made it otherwise in any Parlia-

ment ; and this spirit which, through the countenance that a successful ministry gave to the other side, seemed to lie dormant, has by Sacheverell's affair been roused to a degree that has not been seen since the Revolution, so that at this juncture all the weight of the Court could hardly have stood against it, much less can one expect they would not carry it, when the Court go entirely into them ; 'tis at present like the violence of a whirlwind and one must suffer them to run themselves out of breath before one can hope to check them with success ; and if the condition of our affairs would admit of the delay, 'twould, I believe, do no great harm to the other side to let the governors of this party shew themselves. But in our present circumstances, I confess, I can't but extremely fear the consequences of these new measures, not so much from the suspicion I have of their designs, as from the advantage which, whether they will or no, the common may and will make it. For though nothing can be more extravagant than to drive at this rate in the present posture of affairs, tho' nothing can favour more the cause of the Pretender, and some few men perhaps may *intend* his service in it ; I can by no means think that the design of the Tories in general, and whenever a few shall venture themselves on that side, let them be ever so popular, I dare say they will, from that moment, lose themselves with them that are now

their friends, as much as with those that are most against them ; unless a great deal of management and precaution be used to dispose and prepare the nation for it, which will require more time than such undertakers can promise themselves to be in power.

As for the body of the Tories, the case of the Revolution shews, that how much soever they may (to keep up party or to make their court) talk for unlimited obedience when there is cause for it, they can resist with as little ceremony, as their adversaries, men of desperate fortunes and violent tempers, men in the heights of ambition and depths of cunning, and some few, perhaps, out of principle and conscience, may go into designs against the present establishment ; but for the generality, I can't believe that those who have an equal interest with others in the welfare of their country, and are, in their private lives, men of such probity and honour, will either be false to their oaths, or be made the tools of two or three to ruin the constitution and themselves with it. The Revolution has cost too dear, the advantages of it are too well understood, and too great a part of the nation are concerned to support it, to leave room to fear that it can be in the power of a few, or the desire of any great number, that it should be defeated or destroyed ; and therefore, when such leaders shew themselves, I persuade myself that both sides will, with equal vigour, unite

against them. Whig and Tory were names of distinction before the Revolution, and I think now subsist independent of it ; and whatever these names may once have meant, the last reign shewed pretty plainly that nothing but being in or out of court is at the bottom of them, for in that reign both sides, as occasion served, took leave of their pretended principles, and the Whigs acted to the height of the Tory part, and the Tories that of Whigs, and from thence I can't but conclude, that both sides mean themselves in the first place, whatever they pretend, and that neither do really mean the ruin of their country, how much soever their heats and discontents may contribute in the event to it. *Jacobite* seems to be no juster a character of a Tory, as to the body of them, than *Republican* is of a Whig ; 'tis the dirt each side throw at one another, and that in such plenty as some will stick ; and the faults of a few on both sides, when the prejudices against each other are carried to such heights, make it very hard for either to wipe it off.

For the justness of these reflections I humbly submit them to your Grace, and refer myself to your own thoughts, upon comparing the specious pretences of both parties with their actions since the Revolution, of which nobody can judge better than your Grace, who knows perfectly well the inside and secret history of each of them ; and if these reflections are just, they will lessen a little the fears

which these new measures give but too much cause for, by letting people see, how desirous soever the Tories are to come into play, they can't in general mean to overturn the Establishment, whatever their leaders may intend. And that they don't design to make that use of them, one may reasonably believe, from their temporizing so long as they did to gain a party in the Whigs, before they threw themselves so wholly into the other side, which I believe nobody thinks was the first scheme, tho' it be what they are now driven to ; and for that, as well as some other reason, I am apt to think the Tories are not much obliged to them, nor will put an entire confidence for any time in them. But though one were never so much persuaded that no mischief to the public were intended by these new steps, nothing is surer than that a great deal will come from them, even by the confession of those who have had the greatest hand in them, who I believe will readily own they thought a peace sure when they entered on their new schemes, and would lay the fault of its not being made somewhere else, to skreen themselves from being thought the true cause of it. Whatever appearance there was of peace, 'tis now vanished ; the King of France, we are sure, is resolved to support his grandson and to continue the war, upon the encouragement these changes have given him to hope the face of the war will be changed too ; and whatever the nation suffers from this will be at their

door, who could not have patience to wait a little longer; and we see the public already suffers in their credit more than they can repair or answer for; and 'tis to be feared it will affect the allies, and, by that means, the prosecution of the war, to that degree, as may drive us into an ill and insecure peace. This and more might justly be feared, if France were not too much exhausted to make the use they might of our divisions, by making a powerful invasion; and the turn of affairs in Spain did not give us hopes of pushing the war with more success on that side, and facilitate the way to peace, by removing that which has hitherto been the great obstacle. And I am so much persuaded the new parliament will act with vigour on their part, that I should still hope to see the war brought to a good end, if the indignities and affronts that have been offered to my Lord Duke had not been so directly levelled at him as to make it very difficult for him to continue at the head of it; and unless he does, 'tis, in my humble opinion, impossible it should go on.

I was in hopes they were willing to keep some measures with his Grace, and would have left room to come to some understanding with him this winter; but the removal of Mr. Cardonnell* has quashed those hopes, and seems to be the effect of their de-

* As a peculiar mortification to the duke, Cardonnell was removed from the office of Secretary at War, and his place filled by Mr. Granville, afterwards Lord Lansdowne.

spairing of any reconciliation there ; and that they would therefore, by ill usage, provoke him to throw up a command they don't think convenient to take from him. But, whatever they may intend, the consequences of a change there would, in all human probability, be so fatal, that I can't but hope they will be disappointed, and that his Grace, who has, by a great mind peculiar to him, made his way thro' so many in appearance insuperable difficulties, will be able to triumph over all these indignities, and prevail with himself to stifle his resentments till he can shew them without prejudice to his country and the common cause,—till he has finished his own glory, and established the liberty of England and Europe by a good peace, which he has brought us within sight of, but without him is never to be hoped for. But this, as much as I wish it, I am sensible there is very little room to expect ; for tho' his Grace could bear and pass over all the affronts that can be put upon a man, with what heart can a general continue the command of a confederate army, when all confidence is lost with our allies,—when those that should support him are his enemies,—when men are prejudiced in the army, for no other cause but faction and caballing against him —when he is in danger of wanting everything, and can't be sure his person or his honour are safe in any enterprise, I mean, from treachery ; but very sure that want of success will be made a crime. But this is too ungrateful

a subject to dwell longer on, and I am willing to hope against hope that it will not come to this.

What I presumed to offer in my last with respect to the behaviour due to a certain person, I do assure your Grace did not proceed from any thought I had that that unhappy breach had been begun from any thing of that kind. I am persuaded that difference arose from a cause which will reflect no dishonour on your Grace when 'tis understood; but there is reason to think the breach has been widened, and things have been inflamed from the ill offices I mentioned, from the multitude of stories of that kind, that I know make the ordinary conversation of the female court, and one can't but suspect they have not stopped there, without being earnestly carried as far as they could; and if no handle was given for them, more perhaps might have been done to prevent them, or to hinder the ill effect of them.

What I said in my last about Blenheim was in a paper called the Tory's answer to the 19 queries of the Whigs, where, reckoning up the faults that he thinks may be found in my Lord G.'s administration, he asks the Whig, what he thinks of laying out 300,000*l.* upon the building of Blenheim at this time of day, when there is such a scarcity of money; I have not the paper by me, and therefore can't give your Grace the very words of it: 'tis a matter I know has formerly been clamoured at, and for that reason it was with great joy

I saw that instance of the wisdom of his Lordship in getting so much countenance for it in an act of parliament, which I hope will not only justify his Lordship, but secure the finishing so great a work, which, with all its faults, will be a lasting honour to the nation.

I am afraid your Grace will suspect it is my fashion to be tedious, and yet can't but add a word or two to the length of this, to tell your Grace how we do here. The weather, after having been for a fortnight very bad, has for these four or five days been pretty good, and without rain, and our siege,* in spite of the most unaccountable management from unskilful engineers and a most obstinate general who commands it, is now, we hope, drawing to an end, four or five days more they tell us will do the business.

His Grace, under the mortifications he has from the wild face of affairs at home, and the perverse management of things here, is, I thank God, very well. I submit to your Grace's goodness the liberty this is written with, and humbly beg you will believe me to be ever, with all possible duty and respect, Madam, your Grace's most humble,

And most obedient servant,

FR. HARE.

Mr. Cardonnell gives his duty to your Grace, with humble thanks for the part you are pleased to take in his recovery.

* Of Aire.

MR. MAYNWARING TO THE DUCHESS OF
MARLBOROUGH.

Sept. or Oct. 1710.

I have received your Grace's letter by the coach, for which I am more obliged than I can ever express.

You imagined right, that I wanted the cypher of 17, and who it is I know not. I do not know how those people you mention are endeavouring to be well with 199 (Harley), for I can hardly think that 15 (Lord Orford) would be so; but it is certain they have been ridiculously amused and bantered by him. But you judge very right, that he cannot always deceive them: and it is evident that he is a weaker man than he was thought, by all the vanity that he has been guilty of, and the office is so very invidious, that it will be difficult to keep it. When Lord Godolphin came in, he had the greater part of the Tories with him, and all the Whigs in England for fear of Lord Rochester. But this man comes in with the greater part of both sides against him, which is some difference. * * *

273 (Walpole) is not yet out, and if that should be, I don't think that 200 (Boyle) would come in at the same time, so that they will find difficulties in every step, and depend upon it 199 (Harley) is out of his depth. * * *

Mr. Ross is put over the heads of four or five that served in Flanders, which is monstrous, and

must create great disturbance. The learned say, that the story of Job is all fiction, and that there was no such man, but it is all verified in the trials they put upon 39 (the Duke). To-night they say again his daughters are to be out.

MR. MAYNWARING TO THE DUCHESS OF
MARLBOROUGH.

1710.

I am very glad——

(After quoting Plato's opinion, that the person who received injuries is less to be pitied than him who did them, he adds)——

I make no doubt but 240 (the Duchess) has too much strength of reason to be troubled at the abuses of this lying age, particularly those in the paper 78 (Maynwaring) saw last night, against whom, if you mind it, the chief malice is meant, making her guilty of faults to 42 (the Queen).

(He recommends her to follow the example of Catherine, of Medicis, in despising the malice of all tongues, which moderation will become the virtues and understanding of 240. For 78, who is neither so good a philosopher or Christian, if he ever can revenge it, he has assured me he will.)

I have had the honour to dine with 11 (Duke of Devon) and 6 (Sunderland) who are the honestest men I know, according to my apprehension. They say Lieutenant General Webb is made

Governor of the Isle of Wight, and Lord Rochester Lord Lieutenant of Cornwall, during the minority of the Earl of Bath, and in the room of the Earl of Godolphin. I tell you all this from 78, which is extremely ridiculous, because you would tell me nothing from 240, that you would not tell me of 199 (Harley's) clerks. But I cannot help acquainting you that 200 (Mr. Boyle), whom you are advised twice a day to admire, after having promised Mr. Dunch to dine with him yesterday, sent him word that it was a post day, and business pressed; and it is since come out, that he dined with 13 (Duke of Somerset), with Lord Dartmouth, and a great deal of such choice company, tho' I know a hundred of these accounts could make no impression; but 38 and his * * *

ACCOUNT OF THE PRIVATE INTERVIEWS OF MRS.
MASHAM WITH THE QUEEN, BY THE
PRINCE'S BACK STAIRS.

Soon after the Prince died, the Queen, not caring to have it known how much time she passed with Mrs. Masham, ordered Foyster, I think that was her name, a woman that had served her from a child, to make fires in two closets that were the Prince's, which had a door into the waiting-room that was between the Queen's dressing-room and the Prince's bedchamber, at St. James's, and another door that opened upon his back stairs, which went down to

Mrs. Masham's lodgings ; and after the Prince was dead, nobody having occasion to go that way, Mrs. Masham could go to the Queen, or anybody else, without being seen. For the Queen went into these closets, as if she went to prayers, or to read alone ; but before I saw what was the use which she made of them, I wondered why she chose to sit in them, which were the Prince's, which she had never done before ; for these closets looked only into a very ugly little close space, where Mrs. Masham used to dry linen ; and when the Prince was living, the Queen used to sit in her dressing-room or in one of her other closets, which were both pretty, one looking into the garden and park, and the other into the second court, furnished agreeably with pictures and a couch ; but the Prince's closets were far from agreeable, one was a water-closet, and the other full of his tools, which he worked with, and I thought nothing was more natural than to avoid seeing of papers, or anything that belonged to one that one loved, when they were just dead. But in about a fortnight these closets were ordered to have fires in them, and the Queen ordered the pages of the back-stairs and women to call her from thence, when my Lord Treasurer came to speak with her, or anybody she was to see. I remember my Lord Treasurer told me once a thing that was one night, and what was plain afterwards, that as he was waiting, the page told him that he had scraped at the door a

good while, but the Queen did not hear. I suppose that was occasioned by her being in the furthestmost closet, for fear anybody in the waiting-room might overhear what she and Mrs. Masham said, or that she might be gone down to her chamber, for all that time she saw everybody that Mrs. Masham pleased, professing all the while to have no regard for anybody but for my Lord Godolphin and the Duke of Marlborough. And, now I am upon the subject of what was done after the Prince's death, I will give you some account of what happened when he died. I came from Windsor Lodge, in the night, upon hearing he was extremely ill, and wrote to the Queen, and waited upon her, as I have related in another paper, and I was in the room when he died, and led her into her closet at Kensington. When she left him, where she expressed some passion, there were other of his servants by, which I thought must be uneasy to her, and that made it impossible for me to speak to her, upon which I went up to my Lady Burlington, and desired her to give me an opportunity of speaking alone with the Queen, which she did very readily; and everybody went out with her. Then I knelt down to the Queen, and said all that I could imagine from a faithful servant, and one that she had professed so much kindness to; but she seemed not to mind me, but clapt her hands together, with other marks of passion; and when I had expressed all I could think of to mode-

rate her grief, I knelt by her without speaking for some time, and then asked her to go to St. James's ; upon which she answered she would stay there. I said that was impossible ; what could she do in such a dismal place ? and I made use of all the arguments that are common upon that head, but all in vain ; she persisted that she would stay at Kensington. Upon which I fancied that her chief difficulty in removing was, for fear she could not have so much of Mrs. Masham's company as she desired if she removed from thence ; and, without seeming to think so, I said nobody in the world ever continued in a place where a dead husband lay, and I did not see where she could be, but within a room or two of that dismal body ; that if she were at St. James's, she need not see anybody that was uneasy to her, and that she might see any person that was any comfort to her, as well there as anywhere else. I could see by her face that she had satisfaction in that, and so I went on, saying she might go away privately in my coach, with the curtains down, and see nobody ; and that, if she would give me leave, I would tell Mr. Lowman to make the company go away, that she might go to the coach easily. Upon which, she consented to go, but said, "don't come into me till the hand of the watch comes to this place." I have forgot how many minutes it was ; but I took the watch, and she added, "send to Masham to come to me before I go." This I thought very shocking,

but at that time I was resolved not to say the least wry word to displease her, and therefore answered that I would, and went out of the room with the watch in my hand. I gave Mr. Lowman the necessary orders; but as I was sitting at the window watching the minutes to go in, I thought it so disagreeable for me to send for Mrs. Masham to go into her before all that company, that I resolved to avoid that; and when the time was come, I went in and told her all things were ready, but I had not sent to Mrs. Masham; that I thought it would make a disagreeable noise, when there were bishops and ladies of the bedchamber without, that she did not care to see, and that she might send herself to her to come to St. James's at what time she pleased. To this she consented, and I called for her hoods, which I remember Mrs. Hill put on; and as she did it, the Queen whispered with her, I suppose some kind thing to her sister, who had not appeared before me at Kensington; but upon the alarm of the Queen's being to go with me to St. James's, she came into the gallery with one of her ministers, the Scotch doctor,* to see her Majesty pass, who, notwithstanding her great affection for the Prince, at the sight of that charming lady, as her arm was upon mine, which she had leaned upon, I found she had strength to bend down towards Mrs. Masham like a sail, and in passing by, went

* Dr. Arbuthnot, probably.

some steps more than was necessary, to be nearer her ; and when that cruel touch was over, of going by her with me, she turned about in a little passage room, and gave orders about her dogs and a strong box. When we came into the coach, she had a very extraordinary thought, as it appeared to me. She desired me to send to my Lord Treasurer, and at beg of him to take care and examine whether there was room in some vault, to bury the Prince at Westminster, and to leave room for her too. I suppose it was where her family and kings and queens had been laid ; but in case there was not room enough for the Prince and her too, she directed another place for him to be buried in. When we came to St. James's, I carried her privately through my lodgings into her green closet, and gave her a cup of broth, and afterwards she eat a very good dinner, and at night I found her at a table again, where she had been eating, and Mrs. Masham very close by her, who went out of the room as soon as I came in, but with an air of insolence and anger, and not in the humble manner she had sometimes affected of bedchamber woman. I attended the Queen upon this affliction with all the care that was possible to please her, and never named Mrs. Masham to her ; and she would make me sit down as she had done formerly, and make some little show of kindness at night when I took my leave ; but she would never speak to me freely of anything, and I found I could

gain no ground ; which was not much to be wondered at, for I never came to her but I found Mrs. Masham there, or had been just gone out from her, which at last tired me, and I went to her seldomer. Before the Prince was buried, she passed a good deal of time looking into precedents, that she might order how it should be performed, which I thought unusual, and not very decent ; but she naturally loved all forms and ceremonies, and remembered more of them than I could even do ; but she had bitts of great tenderness for the Prince, and I remember she wrote me once a little note at which I could not help smiling, that I should send to my Lord Treasurer to take care that some door might be taken down at the removing the Prince to Westminster, for fear the dear Prince's body should be shook as he was carried out of some room, though she had gone long jumbling journeys with him to the bath, when he must feel it, and when he was gasping for breath. I did see the tears in her eyes two or three times after his death, upon his subject, and, I believe, she fancied she loved him ; and she was certainly more concerned for him than she was for the fate of Gloucester ; but her nature was very hard, and she was not apt to cry.

END VOL. I.



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